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The

# American Historical Review

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The  
American Historical Review

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL  
SCIENCES, HELD AT BRUSSELS

TEN momentous years have passed since the last international historical congress adjourned in London in April, 1913, after voting that the next gathering should be in Petrograd in 1918. Not the least hopeful among the few hopeful signs of these distressed times is the fact that, four years after the first phase of the great catastrophe and during the most acute crisis of its second phase, nearly a thousand historians and students of history from more than twenty countries should have desired to come together to take counsel with each other, to draw inspiration for their labors from mutual intercourse, and to take, if possible, the first step towards the ultimate reunion of the historical scholars of the entire world.

When it was announced, less than a year ago, that the Belgian scholars, acting upon the suggestion of the Royal Historical Society of London, which became in a sense the residuary legatee of the congress of 1913, were to undertake to organize the fifth<sup>1</sup> international gathering of historians, there was some shaking of heads and not a little doubt as to the success or even the possibility of the undertaking. Obviously a congress to be held in Brussels could not be organized on the same basis of inclusion as those which had been held before the war, and it was feared that a congress organized on any other basis might serve to perpetuate the division among historians which had been made inevitable by the disaster of 1914. To these and other objections it was urged that, history being a subject-matter as full of high explosive as was formerly theology and the historian being of like passions with the rest of mankind (though doubtless he has a

<sup>1</sup> The Brussels congress is the fifth if we accept the series as beginning with the Paris congress of 1900, the intervening gatherings being at Rome in 1903, Berlin in 1908, and London in 1913. For reports of the last two, see this journal for October, 1908 (XIV. 1-8), and July, 1913 (XVIII. 679-691), respectively.

stronger sense of their futility), an ecumenical congress, even if it were held in a part of the world so detached from the current of affairs as Easter Island, might not be the best means of restoring harmony, and that the choice appeared to lie between a congress that should be as nearly "one hundred per cent." international as it might be possible to make it, or no congress at all. In such a dilemma good sense as well as an honest desire to prepare the way for works of reunion and reconciliation led most to prefer the positive to the negative choice, wherein they seem to have been amply justified by the event.

From every point of view the congress which was held at Brussels from April 8 to 15 can be pronounced a success. Seven hundred or more scholars from twenty-three countries participated in it, and the programme included more than three hundred and fifty communications well distributed among the various fields of history. The arrangements were excellent, the weather was as nearly perfect as could be desired, hospitality was abundant, and ample opportunity was afforded for excursions of an historical interest. More important, however, than these details, which will receive further attention, was the spirit, truly scientific and international, which dominated the proceedings of the congress and which found its first expression in the inaugural address of Professor Henri Pirenne and its last in the vote at the closing session which clearly indicated the desire of those present to take the first step toward the reunion of the historical forces of the world.

The congress was held under the patronage of His Majesty the King of the Belgians, who indeed manifested a sincere interest in its success, attending the opening session and receiving a large number of the members of the congress at the palace. The honorary committee was headed by the prime minister and included the ministers of Foreign Affairs and of the Sciences and Arts, as well as the presidents of the Royal Academy and of the Royal Historical Commission and the rectors of the universities of Brussels, Ghent, Liège, and Louvain. A large organizing committee was formed, of which the working body was an executive committee composed of Professor Henri Pirenne of the University of Ghent, president; the Reverend Father Hippolyte Delehaye, president of the Society of Bollandists, and Professor Frans Cumont, vice presidents; Professor Guillaume Des Marex, keeper of the city archives of Brussels, general secretary; Dr. François L. Ganshof, secretary; and Professor Charles Terlinden of the University of Louvain, treasurer. Upon all the members of the executive committee, but especially upon the two secretaries and



the treasurer, fell the burden of the preparatory labors, and the devotion and efficiency which they displayed earned for them the profound gratitude of all the members of the congress.

The congress was organized on as broad a basis as possible, considering the place of meeting and the circumstances of the times. Invitations to participate in its work were extended to the scholars of all countries which, having taken part in the war, are now members of the League of Nations, to all countries that were neutral during the war, and to the United States. Nineteen countries participated officially in the congress and four unofficially.<sup>2</sup> The advance registration, according to the list of members printed for distribution at the opening of the congress, was slightly over seven hundred. Between two and three hundred additional members registered after the printing of the first list, so that the total registration was in the vicinity of one thousand. Of this number, however, a certain proportion was composed of ladies who did not take part in the proceedings, although the number of ladies who did take part was gratifyingly large, and there was also a certain number of members who had registered in advance but who did not attend the meetings. The effective membership therefore, that is, the number of scholars attending and taking part in the scientific work of the congress, was probably about seven hundred. The distribution of membership, so far as it is indicated by the preliminary list, is worthy of notice. The Belgians naturally came first with 315 members; the French were second with 178; and the British Empire, including Ireland, Canada, Australia, South Africa, and India, supplied 140 members; fourth in the list was the United States with 28,<sup>3</sup> and thereafter came Italy with 25, the Netherlands with 24, Poland with 22, Spain with 17, and Switzerland with 16, the other countries having less than ten each. In a few cases the actual attendance may have been slightly more than is indicated by these figures, while in other cases it was undoubtedly somewhat less.

<sup>2</sup> The countries which participated officially were: Brazil, Egypt, the British Empire, the United States, Spain, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Norway, Netherlands, Poland, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, Rumania, Russia, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and of course Belgium. The countries represented unofficially were Denmark, Sweden, Portugal, and Venezuela. The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations was also represented officially.

<sup>3</sup> The American scholars actually attending the congress were the following: Erik Achorn, F. M. Anderson, F. B. Artz, Paul van Dyke, S. B. Fay, C. R. Fish, Miss Ruth Fisher, C. D. Hazen, Miss B. L. Henry, Paul Knaplund, H. B. Learned, W. G. Leland, Miss Dorothy Mackay, Wallace Notestein, L. B. Packard, Miss F. H. Relf, M. Rostovtzeff, G. M. Royce, J. T. Shotwell, Waldemar Westergaard.

It is interesting to study the relative participation of the different countries from another point of view, that of the number of communications offered. According to the programme which was printed in advance but which inevitably suffered many modifications during the course of the meetings, the French scholars stood first with 128 communications, the Belgians second with 84, the scholars from the British Empire third with 58, while the other countries came in order as follows: Poland 17, the United States 15 (of which 13 were actually read), Italy 14, the Netherlands 12, Spain 10, Switzerland 6, Greece 6, and all other countries less than five each.

The headquarters of the congress was in the Palais des Académies, a large building, though none too large for the occasion, situated in beautiful grounds brilliant with the varicolored tulips and *giroflée* of an early spring, and overlooking the park and the royal palace. Here, in the great hall, were held the general sessions of the congress, and in the smaller rooms met most of the sections. Those of the latter which could not be accommodated in the Palais des Académies met in nearby buildings, the club of the Fondation Universitaire, the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, and the Hôtel Ravenstein; only one section, that devoted to Oriental history, was obliged to hold its meetings at any distance from the common centre, and this met, very appropriately, amid the archaeological collections of the Royal Museums of the Cinquantenaire.

Many members of the congress availed themselves of the opportunity provided by the organizing committee to make excursions under the guidance of specialists to the historic towns and sites of Belgium. Perhaps the most interesting and moving of these pilgrimages was that to the Belgian front of the Yser and to the town of Ypres, the "Verdun of the west", rapidly rising from its ruins; this excursion, conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel A. E. M. Merzbach and Major Duvivier of the Historical Section of the Belgian General Staff, will long be remembered by the fifty or more who took part in it. Other all-day expeditions—Wednesday, April 11, being set apart for this purpose—were to Antwerp, guided by M. F. Donnet of the Royal Society of Archaeology; to Bruges, under the auspices of M. C. Tulpinck and the Baron van Zuylen van Nyevelt; to Ghent, conducted by M. V. Fris of the university of that city; to Liège, under the guidance of M. Brassinne, librarian of the University of Liège; and to Tournai, guided by M. Hocquet, archivist of the city. Saturday afternoon, April 14, was devoted to shorter excursions. The various objectives of these were Louvain, where the Rector Magnificus and the faculty of the university received the members of the congress;

Malines and Nivelles, where MM. Diericx and Goffin were the respective guides; the ruins of the ancient abbey of Villers, which were shown by Professor Des Marez; and Waterloo, where M. J. Wilmet of the Royal Museum of the Army acted as conductor.

The reputation of Brussels as the most hospitable of hosts was amply sustained. The club of the Fondation Universitaire was thrown open to the members of the congress and two receptions were held there; here also a committee of Belgian ladies held themselves in readiness to serve the ladies of the congress. Luncheons, dinners, receptions, or intimate soirées were offered by Monsieur and Madame Paul Hymans, by the Minister of the Sciences and Arts, by Monsieur and Madame Ganshof van der Meersch, by Madame Paul Errera, by members of the organizing committee, and by the Université Libre of Brussels. Burgomaster Max and the *échevins* of the city received the members of the congress on Friday afternoon at the Hôtel de Ville, where tea was served and an opportunity was afforded to wander at leisure about the magnificent Gothic rooms of that medieval structure. On Thursday afternoon the congress visited the collegial church of Saints Michel and Gudule, where, after a learned discourse by Canon Maere of the University of Louvain on the history of certain architectural features of the fabric, a beautiful concert of sixteenth-century religious music was rendered by the mixed choir "Pius X." under the direction of M. Eugène Vandeveld, after which the members of the congress proceeded to the tomb of the unknown soldier, where fitting homage to the valor and sacrifice of the Belgians was paid in the form of a magnificent wreath. The most striking and memorable event of the sort now being described was the court reception on Tuesday afternoon at which the foreign delegates were received by the king and queen attended by the princes Leopold and Charles and the princess Marie José. Later, while tea and other refreshments were served, the members of the royal family took occasion to circulate among their guests and to enter into conversation with many of them. It may not be out of place to record here that King Albert expressed to certain of the American members, in the warmest terms, his appreciation of the services which the United States and its people had rendered to his country. The social features of the programme were brought to a close on Saturday evening by the general banquet at the Hôtel Métropole, over which Professor Bronislas Dembinski presided and where felicitous speeches in the lighter vein were made by Professor Pirenne and other members of the committee on organization.

The members of the congress came together for the transaction of business and the hearing of papers in five general assemblies. The first of these, on the morning of April 9, was for the selection of the international bureau, the nominations for which were made by the Belgian committee on organization and accepted by the congress. The bureau as thus constituted consisted of the Belgian executive committee already named, with the addition of representatives of various countries as follows: the United States, Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University; Great Britain, Professor T. F. Tout of the University of Manchester; France, M. Théophile Homolle, president of the Institute of France and director of the Bibliothèque Nationale; Russia, Sir Paul Vinogradoff of Oxford University; Italy, Professor Gaetano de Sanctis of the University of Turin; Switzerland, Professor Francis de Crue of the University of Geneva; Poland, Professor B. Dembinski of the University of Warsaw. The formal session of opening was held on the afternoon of the same day and was attended by the king and queen accompanied by the princes Leopold and Charles, as well as by the ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, and the Sciences and Arts, and by the ambassadors of Italy and Spain. The assembly was presided over by M. Homolle; an address of welcome was delivered by M. Nolf, minister of the Sciences and Arts, and the inaugural address of the congress was pronounced by Professor Pirenne. Inspired by the same lofty sentiments as those which animated the inaugural address of Lord Bryce at the London congress ten years before, Professor Pirenne devoted himself to defining the task by which the historian of to-day is confronted. This task is of a special character and of great difficulty; the historian must strive ever to be objective, he has not the right to consider only his own party, his own religion, his own country, above all he must endeavor to be critical and impartial. The catastrophe of the most recent years should serve the historian as a great seismic disturbance serves the geologist; it has laid before him problems heretofore unforeseen, it has presented facts which refute well-established theories, and it has upset certain scientific prejudices, especially that of race. No longer should we resort to race as an explanation of historical phenomena until we have exhausted all other explanations; races have long been mingled and it is with difficulty that we are able to distinguish them in modern nations; no longer can we consider the Latins, the Germans, and the Slavs from different points of view; the general development of the civilized nations follows a common law and if we introduce the factor of race into our explanations of this law we attempt to solve the unknown by the unknown. The

problem of national individuality must be studied comparatively, the history of a people must be studied from the point of view of the history of humanity, as a part of a far greater whole; the local point of view is entirely inadequate. The ancient historians had some notion of the synthesis which we now find to be essential, but the last century, which has been called the century of history, has been in fact more learned than scientific; and the national point of view in history must now give way to one that is objective and impartial.

At the second general session, held on the afternoon of April 10, four papers were read: M. Charles Bémont, editor of the *Revue Historique*, gave an account of the circumstances under which the kings of England finally renounced the title of King of France. He pointed out that the question had been raised several times under Louis XIV. and Louis XV., but that in 1797 one of the four preliminary conditions laid down by the plenipotentiaries of the French Republic in the negotiations of Lille was the renunciation of the title; these negotiations were broken off and were not resumed until the conferences of Lunéville in 1800, after which the English, modifying the royal title on the incorporation of Ireland in the kingdom, voluntarily abandoned the words *Rex Franciæ*. Sir William Ramsay of the University of Edinburgh presented a learned account of the Anatolian influence on Hellenism as shown in the Anatolian words taken over into Greek, such as the names of social institutions and offices, words connected with metals, domesticated animals, agriculture, manufactures, the imaginative interpretation of nature, etc. Professor Thaddée Zielinski of the University of Warsaw dealt with the prophecies of the Trojan sibyl respecting the end or the regeneration of the world and traced the history of the belief in them during the last two centuries before the Christian era, indicating the events after 84 B.C. which were interpreted as their fulfilment. Finally Professor de Sanctis, dealing with the action of Philip V. of Macedonia in dedicating to Apollo the tenth of the booty of his "combats on land", argued that the phrase fixed the date of the dedication in 201 B.C., and from this conclusion drew certain consequences respecting the chronology of the war of 201 as well as the date and significance of the decree of Delos in favor of King Nabis of Sparta.

The fourth general session was on the afternoon of April 13. Professor Paul van Dyke read a brief and brilliant summary of the conclusions reached during the course of his work which has just culminated in the publication of his two volumes, *Catherine de Médicis*, respecting the character of that historic personage; Professor M. Rostovtzeff, of the University of Wisconsin, interpreted the politi-



cal and social crisis in the Roman Empire of the third century A.D. as being essentially a revolt of the peasants against the towns, and Senator Carlo Calisse of Rome presented to the congress a large volume of the Christian inscriptions of the city of Rome prior to the seventh century and gave some account of their value and significance.<sup>4</sup> The session ended with two papers of archaeological interest, both accompanied by lantern projections: Professor Frans Cumont described the excavations at Sâlihiyeh on the Euphrates, the site of the Greek colony of Doura-Europos, abandoned in the third century A.D., and showed in detail some of the remarkable paintings in a temple to the gods of Palmyra, while M. Jean Capart, of the Royal Museums of the Cinquantenaire of Brussels, recently returned from the Valley of the Kings whither he had accompanied the Queen of the Belgians in her excursion to the tomb of Tutenkhamûn, presented a large number of views of the surroundings and interior of the tomb and of the objects discovered within it.

The fifth and last general session, held on Sunday morning, April 15, for the transaction of such business as the bureau might lay before the congress and for the passing of resolutions, was in some respects the most important session of the week and the action taken at it, which will be dealt with in a later part of this article, may have far-reaching results.

The Brussels congress, like its predecessors, was organized in sections, but whereas the London congress had nine principal divisions, that at Brussels, obeying the tendency to differentiation, had thirteen, and as several of these were divided into two or more subsections, there were in reality twenty-three sections in simultaneous activity, each of which held from three to five sessions and heard from nine to twenty-eight papers.<sup>5</sup>

\* *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores*, vol. I., *Inscriptiones Incertae Originis* (Rome, 1922); commenced by G. B. de Rossi, completed and edited by Angelo Silvagni.

<sup>5</sup> The sections, with the number of papers scheduled for each, according to the preliminary programme, were as follows: I. Oriental history, 17 papers; II. Greek and Roman history, 20 papers; III. Byzantine studies, 16; IV. History of the Middle Ages, 18; V.1. Modern history, 14; V.2. Contemporary history, 17; V.3. History of the American continent, 10; V.4. History of colonies and discoveries, 9; VI.1. History of religions, 15; VI.2a. Ecclesiastical history to the end of the twelfth century, 12; VI.2b. Ecclesiastical history since the twelfth century, 13; VII.1. History of ancient law, 10; VII.2. History of medieval and modern law, 18; VIII. Economic history, 18; IX.1. History of civilization: Ancient thought, 10; IX.2. History of civilization: Medieval and modern thought, 18; IX.3. History of civilization: History of medicine, 21; X.1. History of art, 28; X.2. Archaeology, 16; XI.1. Historical method, 8; XI.2. Auxiliary sciences, 11; XII. Documentation of the history of the world during the Great War, 16; XIII. Archives and publications of historical texts, 11.

So elaborate a system of subdivision and so great a wealth of learning both had their disadvantages, for no device could be invented which would allow any member of the congress to hear all the papers in which he might be interested. He was, to be sure, greatly aided in making out his personal programme by the fact that the organizing committee, by a veritable *tour de force*, had supplied him, even before his arrival in Brussels, with printed abstracts of most of the 344 papers which were scheduled to be read in the various sections, but even these sometimes increased the difficulty of choice. Another difficulty arose from the fact that the programme was inevitably disarranged by the dropping out of participants or by other unavoidable changes, and although notice of all modifications was promptly posted on the bulletin board, many members, it is to be feared, failed to keep themselves informed.

It is of course impossible to attempt to give, within the limits of this narrative, even the most summary account of the three hundred or more papers which were actually read in the one hundred and four sectional sessions. It is gratifying however to be able to announce that the committee on organization has so successfully administered its resources that it will be possible for it shortly to publish a volume which will contain, along with the final list of members and the proceedings of the various sessions and the inaugural address of Professor Pirenne, the abstracts of all the papers read. To this volume, then, those readers of this article who desire to be more fully informed respecting the scientific work of the congress are referred.<sup>6</sup>

\*In order to indicate the scope and variety of the papers the following list, selected from the programme, is offered:

*Oriental and ancient history*, Abbé Belpaire, Brussels, "Les Peuples du Centre de l'Asie d'après les Poètes Chinois de l'Époque des T'ang"; L. de la Vallée-Poussin, Ghent, "Les Upanishads et le Bouddhisme"; T. Homolle, Paris, "Remarques sur les Révolutions de Delphes à propos du Texte d'Aristote, *Politica*, V. 3"; M. Parvan, Bucarest, "La Pénétration Hellénique et Hellénistique dans la Vallée du Danube"; F. Lot, Paris, "Le Caput Fiscal du Bas-Empire, son Étendue et sa Valeur Imposable";

*Byzantine studies*, N. Jorga, Bucarest, "La Romania Danubienne et les Barbares au VI<sup>e</sup> Siècle";

*Medieval history*, L. Halphen, Bordeaux, "Les Origines Asiatiques des Grandes Invasions"; J. Novak, Prague, "L'Idée de l'Empire Romain et la Pensée Politique Tchèque pendant l'Évolution de l'État"; H. Pirenne, Ghent, "Un Contraste Historique, Mérovingiens et Carolingiens"; Marc Bloch, Strasbourg, "Qu'est-ce qu'un Fief?"; M. Handelsman, Warsaw, "Féodalité et Féodalisation dans l'Europe Occidentale"; T. F. Tout, Manchester, "Some Conflicting Tendencies in English Administrative History during the Fourteenth Century"; H. Prentout, Caen, "Les États de Normandie";

There are, however, a few observations of general nature respecting the work of the various sections which it may not be out of place to offer, and which may aid to a better understanding of certain gen-

*Modern and contemporary history.* J. Holland Rose, Cambridge, "The Struggle for the Mediterranean in the Eighteenth Century"; B. Dembinski, Warsaw, "Le Rôle des Italiens dans la Diplomatie à la Fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle"; F. de Crue, Geneva, "Necker, Mirabeau, et les Genevois de la Révolution"; A. Aulard, Paris, "L'État Actuel des études sur la Révolution Française"; P. Sagnac, Paris, "Les Conceptions des Historiens sur l'Origine et l'Esprit de la Révolution Française"; Ed. Driault, Paris, "Les Études Napoléoniennes en France et hors de France"; C. K. Webster, University of Wales, "The Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815, and the Paris Conference, 1919—a Comparison and a Contrast"; H. W. V. Temperley, Cambridge, "The Congress and Conference System and its Breakdown"; P. Gronsky, Petrograd-Paris, "La Chute de la Monarchie en Russie en 1917";

*History of colonies and discoveries.* Ch. B. de la Roncière, Paris, "L'énigme du Premier Voyage de Circumnavigation Médiéval"; T. Simar, Brussels, "Une Conception Unitaire de l'Expansion Européenne"; H. E. Egerton, "The Study of Colonial History in the British Empire";

*Religious and ecclesiastical history.* S. Reinach, Paris, "Survivances Européennes du Catharisme"; V. Novotny, Prague, "Les Origines du Mouvement Hussite en Bohême"; Miss Rose Graham, London, "The Influence of the Papal Schism on the English Province of the Order of Cluny in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries";

*Legal history.* P. Collinet, Paris, "Les Travaux des Professeurs de l'École de Droit de Beyrouth au V<sup>e</sup> Siècle"; Sir Paul Vinogradoff, Oxford, "Les Maximes de l'Ancien Droit Coutumier Anglais"; J. van Kan, Leyden, "L'Idée de Codification à l'Époque de Louis XV."; G. Espinas, Paris, "L'Évolution des Privilèges Urbains dans les Centres Principaux de la Flandre Française depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution";

*Economic history.* Sir William Ashley, Birmingham, "The Historic Bread of the English People"; J. H. Clapham, Cambridge, "Irish Migration into Britain, 1775-1830"; G. Salvioli, Naples, "Les Opérations de Banque à Naples au XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle"; E. Déprez, Rennes, "Les Conséquences Économiques et Sociales de la Guerre de Cent Ans"; Ch. Rist, Paris, "Illusion et Réalité dans l'Interprétation Économique des Guerres Modernes"; H. Pirenne, Ghent, "Liberté et Réglementation dans l'Histoire Économique"; G. Des Marez, Brussels, "L'Origine des Syndicats Ouvriers en Belgique"; H. de Sagher, Bruges, "Les Sources Statistiques de l'Histoire du Prix des Céréales et leur Méthode d'Édition";

*History of civilization.* L. Parmentier, Liège, "Euripide et la Propagande pendant la Guerre de la Péloponnèse"; Mrs. Charles Singer, London, "L'Alchimie, son Évolution jusqu'au Commencement de la Science de la Chimie"; H. Koht, Christiania, "Le Problème des Origines de la Renaissance"; L. Febvre, Strasbourg, "L'Idée Moderne de Domination Universelle"; A. I. Carlyle, Oxford, "The Development of the Theory of the Authority of the Pope in Temporal Matters from the Ninth Century to the Thirteenth Century"; A. Lefranc, Paris, "Aperçu sur l'Histoire des Idées Rationalistes en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle";

*History of medicine.* Dr. Jeanselme, Paris, "La Psychose de l'Empereur Héraclius"; Dr. Angélique Panayotatou, Alexandria, "L'Hygiène et la Morale chez les Anciens Grecs"; Dr. Van Schevensteen, Antwerp, "Les Oculistes Ambulants dans les Provinces Belges pendant les XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles";

eral characteristics of the congress. While, as was to be expected, many of the papers were of a highly specialized character, dealing with rather minute subjects, there was nevertheless a goodly number of communications, particularly in the sections on medieval history, on economic history, and on historical method, which were of broad scope and exceedingly suggestive. There were no marked tendencies, but there seemed to be a rather large number of papers of an archaeological flavor, and the increasingly popular subject of pre-history was by no means neglected; it was also clear that the history of eastern Europe was a favorite subject, as was to be expected from the large number of Polish scholars attending the congress. In the section on contemporary history the French Revolution claimed the major share of attention, while of strictly "contemporary" history there was little except for the interesting symposium of Professors Webster and Temperley. The papers in the section on the documentation of the history of the world during the Great War were all technical in character and chiefly of interest to archivists and to military and economic historians. It should be noted that this section visited the very important collections of the Commission des Archives de la Guerre, where, under the direction of Dr. Vannérus, the archives of the German occupation of Belgium have been brought to-

*History of art and archaeology*, C. Hofstede de Groot, the Hague, "Explications des Sujets Bibliques et Historiques dans l'Oeuvre de Rembrandt"; N. Jorga, Bucarest, "Les Origines de l'Art Populaire Roumain"; E. Closson, Brussels, "Instruments de Musique disparus"; H. Schetelig, "L'Industrie Néolithique de la Norvège"; P. Bosch Gimpera, Barcelona, "La Civilisation Ibérique";

*Historical method and auxiliary sciences*, H. Berr, Paris, "La Synthèse en Histoire"; Fr. Bujak, Lemberg, "Le Problème de la Synthèse en Histoire"; O. de Halecki, Warsaw, "L'Histoire de l'Europe Orientale, sa Division en Époques, son Milieu Géographique, et ses Problèmes Fondamentaux"; M. Lhéritier, Paris, "L'Histoire et l'Urbanisme"; H. Jenkinson, London, "The Present State of Palaeographical Studies in England"; V. Tourneur, Brussels, "Les Origines de la Médaille à la Renaissance";

*Documentation of the history of the world during the Great War*, Camille Bloch, Paris, "La Bibliothèque et Musée de la Guerre"; Colonel Maltese, Rome, "Les Archives Militaires de la Guerre en Italie"; H. Nélis, Brussels, "Les Collections d'Archives de Guerre en Allemagne et en Hongrie"; J. Vannérus, Brussels, "Les Archives de la Guerre en Belgique"; J. Holub, Budapest, "Les Archives de la Guerre en Hongrie";

*Archives and publications of historical texts*, J. Paczkowski, Warsaw, "La Remise des Archives en Connexion avec des Changements de Frontières entre États"; A. G. Little, Manchester, "Rules for the Editing of Historical Documents"; J. Cuvelier, "Des Nécessités Présentes dans le Domaine de la Conservation des Archives".

[A set of the abstracts, sent by Mr. Leland, is available for inspection at the office of the Review, and individual abstracts can be lent to persons interested. Ed.]

gether. The papers read before the section on archives and publications of historical texts, one session of which was devoted to a visit to the General Archives of the kingdom, were very miscellaneous in character. Probably the one of most interest to American readers was the report by Professor Little of Manchester on the proposed rules for editing historical documents, prepared for the Anglo-American Historical Committee. The present writer does not feel qualified to characterize the numerous papers read before the section on the history of medicine, most of which seemed to be by doctors for doctors, although a few, as that on the psychosis of Heraclius, had a very obvious value for the historian. It is to be hoped that the next congress will devote a section to the broader field of the history of science.

The sessions on American history have been reserved for special comment. It was frankly an experiment, entered upon almost at the last minute, to attempt to organize a section on a subject which, however important it may seem to the readers of this journal, had never before received separate treatment in an international congress. It was decided that the section should be devoted to the history of the American continents and that a special effort should be made to secure communications by European scholars. In this latter respect the experiment was so successful that of the nine papers read only two were by Americans. With respect to attendance the experiment was less successful, Monsieur Bernard Faÿ of Paris, whose paper at the meetings of the American Historical Association in St. Louis is so favorably remembered, being obliged to read one of the most original and brilliant communications of the congress, "*L'Opinion Américaine à la Fin du XVIIIe Siècle et ses Sources d'Informations en Europe*", before a pitifully small audience. Several of the other readers were more favored, however, and the very suggestive paper by Professor Carl Russell Fish on "The Study of United States History" and Dr. H. Barrett Learned's masterly analysis of the debates in the Senate on the Treaty of Versailles, "The Temper of the United States Senate, 1918-1920", were heard by a considerable number of scholars, who showed their interest in the subjects presented by taking part in an animated discussion. The other papers read before the section on American history were "*Les Fouilles du Cimetière des Anciens Colons Norvégiens au Groenland*", by Professor V. Schmidt of Copenhagen; "*Les Origines Orientales du Nom de Californie*", by Professor A. Carnoy of Louvain; "*Quelques Notes sur Christophe Colomb*", by Professor F. Van Ortrof of Ghent; "The Government of Ovando in Española, 1501-1508", by



Professor Cecil Jane of the University of Wales; "*Le Traité Anglo-Américain de Gand, 1814*", by Professor Charles Terlinden of Louvain; and "*The Monroe Doctrine, 1823-1923*", by G. W. T. Omond of London. It is probable that the experiment will be repeated at the next congress and that sessions on American history will become an established feature of the programmes. The most useful indication to be drawn from the results at Brussels is that Europeans are much interested in those contemporary phases of American history which connect it closely with the history of Europe.

A word should also be said respecting the contribution of American scholars to the programme of the congress as a whole. It was the first time that that contribution has assumed any considerable proportions or that any attempt has been made to organize it. Without undue complacency it may be remarked that the American papers compared well with those of other scholars and certainly did not fall below the rather high average of the congress, and it is gratifying to note that they were well distributed among the different fields of history. In addition to the four communications of Professors van Dyke, Rostovtzeff, and Fish, and of Dr. Learned, which have already been noted, the remaining nine papers read were as follows: in the section on Oriental history, "*La Russie Méridionale et la Chine, Contribution à l'Histoire de l'Art de l'Époque des Migrations*", by Professor Michael Rostovtzeff; in the section on medieval history, "*Scandinavian Influence upon the Baltic Provinces*", by Waldemar Westergaard; in the section on modern history, two papers dealing with English parliamentary history of the sixteenth century—"The Committee of the Whole House", by Wallace Notestein, and "*The Later Parliamentary Career of Sir Edward Coke*", by Miss Frances H. Relf; in the section on contemporary history, "*The Diplomacy of Disraeli, 1876-1878*", by Laurence B. Packard; in the section on colonial history, "*Gladstone's Views on English Colonial Policy*", by Paul Knaplund, and (wrongly assigned to this section) "*The Cyprus Convention and Anglo-French Relations, 1878-1881*", by Frank M. Anderson; and finally, in the section on the documentation of war history, "*The Making of a War History*", by James T. Shotwell, and "*Les Archives de la Guerre aux États-Unis*", by Waldo G. Leland.

It was characteristic of this congress, and in this it is to be distinguished from its predecessors, at least from the two which the writer has attended, that it was animated by a pronounced sentiment that a new epoch of international co-operation among historians should be inaugurated. This sentiment found expression in various

projects of co-operative activity which were discussed in the different sections and laid before the congress at its final session, in the numerous resolutions or *vœux* which formulated desires and opinions respecting various aspects of historical work or which were designed to shape the architecture of the next congress, and especially in the action of the congress providing for the organization of a permanent international committee of historical sciences.

When the congress assembled for its final session, under the presidency of Professor Shotwell, on Sunday morning, April 15, there were presented to it the resolutions or *vœux* of the different sections. It was evident that much useful work, clarified by fruitful discussion, had been accomplished in the various subdivisions of the general body. The section of Oriental history reported its approval of the proposal put forth by M. L. Speleers of the Cinquantenaire Museums of Brussels for the publication of a *Corpus Gemmarum Asiae Anterioris Antiquarum*; the section on Byzantine studies proposed the creation of an international review of Byzantine studies, to be edited in Brussels, and named as a provisional committee to study the means of executing the plan, MM. A. Andreades of Athens, J. Bidez of Ghent, P. Collinet of Paris, Ch. Diehl of Paris, Estatlopoulos, P. de Francisci of Padua, A. Grabar of Strasbourg, P. Graindor of Ghent, H. Grégoire of Brussels, N. Jorga of Bucarest, H. Pernot of Paris, and M. Rostovtzeff of Madison, the Rev. Fathers Delehaye and Peeters of the Society of the Bollandists, and Sir William Ramsay of Edinburgh. The section on economic history, adopting the proposal laid before it by Professor Febvre of Strasbourg, recommended the founding of an international review of economic history and named as a committee of organization Sir William Ashley of Birmingham, H. Pirenne of Ghent, N. W. Posthumus of Amsterdam, and L. Febvre of Strasbourg. The sections of legal history expressed the opinion that in legal instruction an important place should be given to the study of the sources and history of institutions and of law, while the section on historical method recommended that in the next congress there should be created a section on the history of eastern Europe. From this latter section came also the recommendation that the next congress should give a more important place to the consideration of questions of historical method, theory, and synthesis, and that the permanent international committee, if one should be organized, should devote particular attention to such questions and should do all in its power to facilitate their study by the historians of the different countries. A third *vœu* from this same section was to the effect that it was desirable for the Committee on Intellectual Co-

operation of the League of Nations, in the course of its proposed study of a new manual of general history, to bear in mind the increasing importance of historical synthesis and theory and the necessity of applying their methods to the exact and objective examination of isolated and individual facts. From the section devoted to the history of medieval and modern thought came the expression of the hope that, inasmuch as works which are not presented in one or another of the great world languages are apt to be but little known in the learned world, the editors of the principal scientific journals might endeavor to secure reviews of such works and articles from their foreign collaborators. This same section also resolved that it was desirable to prepare a catalogue of the opening words (*Incipit*) of the Latin manuscripts of the Middle Ages, a work which might be confided to the University of Louvain. The section on the documentation of war history offered various recommendations—that there should be edited a critical bibliography of war publications, that there should be instituted a practical co-operation as to exchange of documents and bibliographical information between the various libraries and centres for the study of war history, and that if possible some agreement should be entered upon by the different governments respecting a uniform method of classifying the war archives of the various provinces, departments, towns, etc. The section also expressed the hope that the Belgian Commission on War Archives might be able to develop its activities still more largely for the greater benefit of international works on the history of the war. Finally the section on archives gave voice to the opinion that contemporary archives should be centralized within the various administrations under the direction of professional archivists, without however affecting the practice as to periodical deposits in national or provincial archive depots, and recommended that when transfers of archives take place between states as a result of modifications of frontiers consideration should be given not only to administrative necessities but to the intellectual, religious, and artistic interests of the country concerned.

Three other proposals came directly before the congress without passing through one or another of the sections. One of these, which had been referred to the congress by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations, was a project by M. Horvath of Budapest for a bibliography of general history; the second was the proposal by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson for the international publication of an annual bibliography of current historical works, a continuation in somewhat modified form of the now abandoned *Jahres-*

*berichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*; the third was an elaborate project drawn up by Dr. O. de Halecki, secretary of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, for the organization of an International Union of Historical Sciences, based upon a study of similar bodies in the domain of the exact and natural sciences.

In order that all these proposals, recommendations, and *vœux* might not fall to the ground with the adjournment of the congress, and in order also that the troublesome question of the next meeting-place (the invitations before the congress being from Christiania, Warsaw, and Athens) might receive further consideration and be decided at a time when it would be more possible than at present to foresee the local economic and political conditions of 1928, the international bureau of the congress laid before the final assembly the following proposal:

Whereas there have been presented to the Fifth International Congress of Historical Sciences several projects for the creation of a permanent international organization of historical sciences and for the carrying out of international co-operative historical enterprises;

The congress decides that there shall be formed an International Committee of Historical Sciences.

The International Bureau<sup>7</sup> of the Fifth Congress shall remain provisionally in office in order to organize this committee, in consultation with the historical societies of the different countries, and with the object of making the committee as representative as possible of all countries.

The International Bureau of the Fifth Congress, and succeeding it the committee as soon as it shall be organized, are charged with determining, before April 15, 1926, the place of meeting of the next congress.

The International Bureau of the Fifth Congress, and succeeding it the committee as soon as it shall be organized, are instructed to study the proposals which may be referred to it by the Fifth International Congress, or which it may consent to study upon reference from competent bodies.

Each country represented in the Bureau or in the committee shall have but one vote.

The adoption of this proposal, by a unanimous vote, marked a fitting climax to the work of the congress. It only remained, before adjourning, to refer to the new body the recommendations and proposals which have already been described, and to pass the customary resolutions, including one of sympathy to Lady Carnarvon, the death of whose distinguished husband while conducting one of the most

<sup>7</sup>*I.e.*, the executive committee of the organizing committee, MM. Pirenne, Bidez, Delchaye, Des Marex, Ganshof, and Terlinden, together with the representatives of the different countries named as presidents of the congress at the first session: United States, J. T. Shotwell; Great Britain, T. F. Tout; France, T. Homolle; Italy, G. de Sanetis; Russia, Sir Paul Vinogradoff; Switzerland, F. de Crue; Poland, B. Dembinski. This membership however is representative, not personal, and is subject to modification by the countries represented.

important archaeological explorations of recent times is a grievous loss to the historical world.

After a brief address by Professor Jorga, the congress adjourned, and the members separated feeling that the foundations had been laid for many fruitful activities and conscious of having, loyally and in the spirit of the best traditions of their science, taken the first step toward a larger union.

WALDO G. LELAND.



## RUSSIA AND THE SPANISH COLONIES, 1817-1818

THE problem of the pacification of Spanish America, as it presented itself to European statesmen in the period following the Congress of Vienna, has already engaged the attention of the scientific historian. The policy of Castlereagh has been carefully analyzed in the interesting articles of Mr. C. K. Webster in the *English Historical Review*.<sup>1</sup> The policy of the French ministers has been revealed in its broad lines by the fruitful studies of Mr. C. A. Villanueva.<sup>2</sup>

But the policy of Russia, (and it was Russia which sympathized most thoroughly with the pretensions of Spain), has never been studied with the care it deserves. The whole question as to whether there ever existed a serious danger of armed intervention in Spanish America is a question which particularly turns upon the views of the Tsar Alexander and his advisers, and it is a question which deserves an answer, not only for the later period, 1822-1824, but also for the earlier period when the colonial problem was under discussion, that is, 1817-1818. Moreover, the study of this phase of Russian diplomacy is interesting from the standpoint of the general history of the period, and doubly interesting now that a new period of post-war reconstruction suggests comparisons with that of one hundred years ago.

In 1815, as in 1919, the coming of a so-called general peace left a considerable part of the world excluded from its benefits, in the first instance South America, and in the second instance Russia. And in the one case, as in the other, the countries which lay outside the pale were countries whose governments professed principles of action repugnant to the conservative diplomats of Europe, and to the common opinion of the time.

Moreover, after 1815, as after 1919, the harmony of the great states of Europe, which had been created and maintained by the crisis of world struggle, was subjected to a severe strain. Along with lofty visions and the attempted establishment of a better world order went the assertion of the selfish tendencies of the old diplomacy. In the reconstruction of a century ago, the Spanish colonial question, and

<sup>1</sup> C. K. Webster, "Castlereagh and the Spanish Colonies", in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII, 78-95 and XXX, 631-645.

<sup>2</sup> C. A. Villanueva, *Bolívar y el General San Martín* (Paris, 1912). For a later period than that covered by this article there are three other volumes by the same author, under the titles, *Fernando VII, y los Nuevos Estados*, *La Santa Alianza*, and *El Imperio de los Andes*.

particularly Russian policy with regard to it, well illustrates the tendencies and the difficulties of the time.

The American question first became the subject of international discussion as a result of events which occurred in the New World in the early summer of 1816. The Portuguese government, from its seat of authority in Brazil, invaded the Banda Oriental, still claimed as a part of her colonial possessions by Spain. At first the Spaniards seemed to incline toward war, but it was finally decided to request the mediation of the great powers, and, after long diplomatic exchanges, it was decided that the dispute should be composed by the conference of the Allied ambassadors at Paris.

The colonial problem was thus brought to the attention of the powers, but in a restricted form. Before Portugal's acceptance of the mediation had even been received, however, the scope of the discussions was broadened, and the general question of the pacification of Spanish America made an object of negotiation. This was due, in a very large measure, to the energetic interest of the Russian ambassador at Paris, General Pozzo di Borgo.

Down to the middle of 1817, the Tsar Alexander himself does not seem to have concerned himself directly with the restoration of peace and Spanish dominion in the New World. In the dispute over the Banda he had warmly espoused the cause of Spain, and had even talked of putting the collective power of Europe behind Ferdinand.<sup>3</sup> But on the larger aspects of colonial affairs he had remained silent. When the Spanish government had requested permission to construct some vessels of war in Russian shipyards, the Tsar had obligingly offered the sale of a part of the Russian fleet.<sup>4</sup> This caused a great

<sup>3</sup> *Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago Istoricheskago Obshchestva* (St. Petersburg, 1904), CXII, 732. Published separately also as A. A. Polovtsov, *Correspondance Diplomatique des Ambassadeurs et Ministres de Russie en France et de France en Russie*, II.

<sup>4</sup> This interesting diplomatic transaction was veiled in the deepest secrecy. Neither the Spanish nor the Russian archives have yielded much information on the matter. It appears that Ferdinand applied to the Tsar for permission to construct ships of war in Russian shipyards. The Tsar obligingly countered this request with the offer of the sale of some of his own vessels. The agreement to this effect was finally negotiated at Madrid, between Tatishchev, Russian ambassador at Madrid, and Eguia, the minister of war. It was apparently known only to these two, and to the king himself. The text of the treaty of sale has not been found in the Spanish archives. The *London Morning Chronicle* published what purported to be the full text in its edition of Dec. 2, 1823. (Reproduced in Martens, *Nouveau Recueil de Traités* (Göttingen, 1817-1842), 1808-1822, V, 41.) The authenticity of this document is doubtful. The number of vessels therein mentioned does not correspond with the number actually sent. Payment is to be effected by means of the sums paid to Spain by Great Britain for the abolition

stir at the time, but it seems reasonable to interpret Alexander's helpfulness, as did the American minister at St. Petersburg at the time, as evidence that the Russian autocrat had no intention of interfering directly in the colonial dispute, rather than as a proof of active interest in intervention.<sup>5</sup> That the Tsar's sympathies were with Spain need hardly be doubted, but the first move to identify Russia with the solution of the American question came, not from him, but from Pozzo, acting, as will become clear, on his own initiative.

The revolutions in the New World seem to have had a singular attraction for that minister. The scope of the subject fascinated him,<sup>6</sup> he wrote to Nesselrode; the events taking place in the colonies were of the first importance.<sup>7</sup> So believing, Pozzo set out to educate his court in a long despatch of June 14, 1817, which can only be interpreted as a preparation for his future intrigues. This despatch, as one of the earliest important commentaries on the colonial question by a Continental European statesman, has a very considerable historical interest. The Russian minister begins by expatiating upon the unhappy and disordered condition of South America. The "friends of innovation" are accustomed to compare what is going on there with the earlier struggle of the United States for freedom. But there is, in reality, no ground whatsoever for such a comparison. The North American colonists were exclusively European, and had not been fused with the aboriginal populations. They had the civil and administrative institutions of Great Britain; they had political institutions of their own; their revolt merely substituted one political sovereignty for another, and resulted in no genuine political overturn. Such cannot possibly be the case in South America. The races there are as varied as the plants of its soil; and political philosophies as opposed to one another as the colors of those who profess them. The leaders who excite and direct the colonists have the power to arm them; but, in the last five years, there is practically no example of success in establishing a civil government. As things are going, the Spanish supremacy may indeed be destroyed, but there will be substituted therefor a number of petty tyrants bent only on destroying one another, who will reduce that immense continent to the level of the slave trade. The slave-trade treaty, though it was in contemplation, had not yet been signed at the date which the *Morning Chronicle* assigns for the cession of the ships, Aug. 11, 1817. Baumgarten believes this date to be almost certainly too late. H. Baumgarten, *Geschichte Spaniens vom Ausbruch der Französischen Revolution bis auf unsere Tage* (Leipzig, 1865), II, 196.

<sup>5</sup> U. S. State Department, Despatches, Russia, Oct. 11, 1817.

<sup>6</sup> *Sbornik*, CXIX, 239.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 193.

of the tribes of Africa. Trade and the exploitation of the mines will languish. Europe will lose all the advantages which she used to gain from contact with this part of the world.

What is to be done to prevent these calamities? Pozzo's answer to this question is a distinctly moderate one. As its basis, he frankly admits, there must be a reasonable policy on the part of Spain.

To assume to subjugate and govern America by force of arms, without having recourse to any moral or political expedient, is like attempting to impose silence on the tempests and hurricanes of those regions. Instead of obstinately persisting in fruitless military ventures, Spain ought to present to Europe a plan of pacification with the colonies, whose basis should be a better local administration, provincial privileges, and a considerable freedom of commerce. [Granted the formulation of such a programme.] the allies might constitute themselves as mediators . . . combining persuasion with whatever force might be available, and advice with the means of making it effective.<sup>8</sup>

The Russian minister, as the phrases just quoted indicate, *did* envisage the possibility of aid to Spain, provided that she pursued a conciliatory course. But he treated this phase of the question very gingerly, to say the least. "My intention would not be", he writes to Nesselrode, "lightly either to promise or to grant any armed assistance, but only not explicitly to base the mediation on a contrary policy, since such a declaration would certainly deprive our efforts, in the eyes of the American insurgents, and of the rest of the world, of that imposing uncertainty which reveals force in the background behind the just counsels of monarchs."<sup>9</sup> The extraordinary thing about this statement is certainly its moderation. Pozzo assuredly wished to see Russia have a hand in the colonial question; he wished to see the problem settled, through the moral authority of the Allies, if possible, perhaps through more vigorous measures, if necessary. But he certainly proposed nothing like a programme of blind reconquest, or even of intervention on the grand scale, to impose a settlement.

"I submit these observations," concluded the despatch from which we have been quoting, "though they have regard to a matter which may not appear to claim directly the attention of our court; for the question has too great an importance, and the world knows too well the fame of our august master, for any great event to be alien to him."<sup>10</sup>

The attention of Pozzo's august master, however, does not seem to have been very seriously challenged by the observations of the

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 228-231.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 393.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

minister. The attitude at St. Petersburg was distinctly one of reserve. It was as yet, wrote Nesselrode, difficult and premature to form just and definite conceptions of the colonial question. The Tsar would be obliged to postpone his judgment until further discussion had clarified matters. Conferences might well be useful on the American problem, as on other matters. But it was too early to formulate a policy.<sup>11</sup>

This reply to the despatch of June 14 is dated August 24. In the meantime Pozzo had not been idle, but, on the contrary, had precipitated a further discussion of the colonial situation in the conference of ambassadors at Paris.

On July 2, 1817, the Duke of Fernan-Núñez, Spanish ambassador at Paris, submitted a new note on the controversy with Portugal, which seemed to intimate that Spain would not be averse to the mediation of the powers in the larger question of the pacification of all her revolted possessions.<sup>12</sup> Taking advantage of this opening the Russian minister proposed to the conference that Spain be invited to declare herself. He pressed the point vigorously, and had the support of the Austrian and Prussian ambassadors, and, the next day, of the Duc de Richelieu, who had missed the first discussion. The British minister, however, manifested opposition to such a course. Pozzo, nevertheless, pursued the subject still further, and, when the Duke of Wellington came to Paris, had a long interview with him. The result was a note of July 20, by which Spain was notified that the question of a general mediation had been referred to the individual courts for their consideration. The Russian minister had failed to secure immediate action, but he had at least precipitated a general discussion.

Would Castlereagh accept the idea of a general mediation? This was the next question that concerned the Russian minister. On the whole, he was optimistic, as he wrote to Nesselrode, believing that the "timidity" of the British Cabinet would prevent it from disassociating itself from its allies.<sup>13</sup> And, as it turned out, he proved in a measure to be right. Lord Castlereagh, schooled in the co-operative diplomacy

<sup>11</sup> *Sbornik*, CXIX, 335.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 275. It is highly probable that Tatishchev was behind the Spanish note. This is the assertion of Debidour. A. Debidour, *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe, depuis l'Ouverture du Congrès de Vienne jusqu'à la Fermeture du Congrès de Berlin* (Paris, 1891), I, 108. But no reference for this statement is given. The French ambassador at Berlin, writing a little later, declares that Tatishchev used all his influence with the king to persuade him to ask the help of the Allies. (Paris, *Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne*, vol. 615, f. 64.) Pozzo, too, may have had a hand in it. His despatch of June 14 raises the suspicion that he knew what was coming.

<sup>13</sup> *Sbornik*, CXIX, 303.



of the Napoleonic period, was loath to abandon it, even in a question where the paramount interest of Great Britain was clear. He may have thought, too, as he did with regard to the Portuguese mediation,<sup>14</sup> that collective action would be more successful in wringing concessions from Spain. At any rate, he was ready to attempt the experiment of a general mediation.

But such a mediation, he had determined, must be on British terms. As regards reform in the colonies, these terms did not differ much from Pozzo's. The difference lay in the determination of the British foreign secretary that every element of force should be distinctly excluded. This fundamental principle, together with other considerations, he laid down in the notable memoir of August 28, 1817. He also suggested that the forum of the discussions be transferred to London.<sup>15</sup>

The active Pozzo was hardly pleased by this declaration of policy. He was naturally piqued at the thought of losing touch with the problem which he had done so much to bring to the front. He was annoyed at the British veto on any measure of coercion. This, he declared, was "a premature avowal, calculated to render all the rest futile, and to compromise the dignity of the greatest sovereigns of the earth by, so to speak, reducing the means by which they may act to a mere homily or dissertation".<sup>16</sup>

The discontent of Pozzo, however, was mild compared with that of Madrid. The Spaniards had never given up the notion of reconquering the colonies. They had never thought of mediation except as a means of securing active support for their own programme. Their views were set forth with the greatest definiteness in a reply to Castlereagh's memoir, dated October 20, 1817. This reply was communicated only to the Continental courts, and contained the most offensive references to Great Britain. It did, it is true, accept in part the British proposals, promising freedom of commerce and an amnesty in the New World. But its fundamental principle was that Spain could make no concessions unless the Allies would guarantee to enforce the terms of settlement which should be agreed upon by the whole of Europe. The revolutionary struggle in America, declared the Spanish note, rested on the same basis as that which had taken place in France; the powers had the same interest in repressing the one incendiary movement as the other, and in saving the New

<sup>14</sup> *Supplementary Despatches and Memoranda of Arthur, Duke of Wellington* (London, 1858-1872), XII, 51.

<sup>15</sup> Webster, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII, 86-87.

<sup>16</sup> *Sbornik*, CXIX, 393.

World from an anarchy which would surely have unfortunate consequences for Europe. The King of Spain had a right to complain that his rights had been so long neglected by those who called themselves his allies.<sup>17</sup>

It was in an attempt to reconcile the violently conflicting views of Britain and Spain that the Russian autocrat at St. Petersburg launched, in his turn, a memorandum on the colonial question. Alexander's attitude, as has been seen, had at first been one of reserve. Now that he did come forward, it was with the hope of reconciling divergent views, though there can be little question that his sympathies lay with the Spaniards.

The most striking thing about the attitude of the Tsar in the colonial question is its moderation. Here as elsewhere, Alexander manifests an earnest desire to practise that concert of action which he preached, not to dictate a policy of his own. In all this, indeed, appears an idealism with which he has been too little credited. In the Spanish and Spanish American questions the Tsar has frequently been portrayed as seeking only his selfish interests. His friendship for Ferdinand has been attributed to his desire to create a new *pacte de famille*, and build up a maritime power against Great Britain.<sup>18</sup> The Europe of his time was full of sinister rumors as to his aims, of which the story of the cession of Minorca to Russia is the chief. His colonial policy, it was said, was intended to enhance Russian influence at Madrid and bring Spain within the orbit of his power.<sup>19</sup> Such has often been the interpretation of his policy. And a distinguished student of diplomatic history goes even further and declares that the Tsar wished to distract the attention of Europe toward America in order to have a free hand in the Near East.<sup>20</sup>

Now some of these things may have been true of Alexander's ministers. The jealousy of Tatishchev and Pozzo as regards Great Britain needs no proof. Their intrigues may have been directed toward at least some of the ends just mentioned. Even the Minorca rumor may have had a substratum of fact and be based upon an actual agreement negotiated by Tatishchev, but never approved at St. Petersburg.<sup>21</sup> But whatever may be said of Alexander's ministers, the same jealousy and cynicism can hardly be imputed to Alexander himself. In 1817, for example, the Tsar definitely refused an offer

<sup>17</sup> Baumgarten, II, 217.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>19</sup> Debidour, I, 106.

<sup>20</sup> E. Bourgeois, *Manuel Historique de Politique Étrangère* (Paris, 1909-1911), II, 608.

<sup>21</sup> Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, XI, 661.

of secret alliance with Spain,<sup>22</sup> as well as of some similar understanding with France.<sup>23</sup> "Our whole object", wrote Capodistrias to Pozzo, "is to bring Spain within the circle of the great alliance, and that in conjunction with the efforts of Great Britain."<sup>24</sup> There must be no setting-off of one power against another. "This manner of judging men and affairs hinders the progress of the general system, and does not correspond with the purity of our principles. Sensed by other cabinets, it nurtures jealousies and suspicions; and by adopting it, we should be drawn away from our accepted course."<sup>25</sup> These phrases were by way of rebuke to the Russian minister at Paris. In a circular addressed to all his diplomatic representatives the same ideals find place. There must be candor and frankness, no underhanded dealings, no special ends to serve. "We must prove that our secret consists in having none."<sup>26</sup>

The man who penned these words had the pleasurable sensation of believing them. Like all autocrats, he was necessarily limited in the measure in which he could carry out his policies, and his agents and instruments were not likely always to follow his exalted doctrines. But it is difficult for any close student of the period not to believe in the genuineness of Alexander's idealism.

In the colonial question, the Tsar aimed at a genuine agreement of the powers. He was "not disposed to anticipate the decisions of his august allies".<sup>27</sup> "Far from pretending that the mediating powers should adopt his opinion," wrote Capodistrias to Pozzo, "he is disposed to adopt the view of the majority, recognized to be agreeable to the interested parties and founded in right and justice."<sup>28</sup> The memorandum of November 29 was an attempt to reconcile conflicting views.<sup>29</sup>

On the one hand Alexander sought to meet the British attitude. He conceded the necessity of a reasonable policy on the part of Spain, and proposed the grant of a "constitutional charter" for the colonies. He dwelt unctuously on the good-will of the Spaniards and on the

<sup>22</sup> *Sbornik*, CXIX. 243.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 774.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 239-248. "Aperçu des relations politiques de la Russie, pour servir d'instruction aux missions de Sa Majesté Impériale à l'étranger."

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 478.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 658.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 474-482. "De la négociation relative à la question du Rio de la Plata, et, en général, de la pacification des colonies." ("Mémoire à communiquer aux puissances intéressées, ainsi qu'aux cabinets des puissances médiatrices.") Also in Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, XII, 125-131.

identity of Spanish and British views, according to the accustomed practice of the diplomats, who so frequently try to exorcise the spirit of discord by asserting that it does not exist. He did not advocate the use of force; indeed in a sense he disclaimed it.

But, on the other hand, he sought to meet the views of Ferdinand. Some kind of pressure on the insurgents he certainly hoped for. He seems to have imagined that Portugal and Spain might be brought to combine against the revolutionaries of the New World. Declaring that the dispute over the Banda must first be settled as a preliminary to a general pacification, Alexander argued that such a settlement would naturally lead to a discussion of "the policy which the two courts propose to follow in concert toward the insurgent peoples". He brought forward, also, a remarkable suggestion for the coercion of the colonies, which has never received the attention it deserved. He proposed to apply an economic boycott against them.

This proposal was veiled in phrases characteristically Alexandrian and characteristically obscure. "The declaration of the Congress of Vienna on the abolition of the slave trade and the acts which relate thereto offer incontrovertible evidence of the legitimacy and efficacy of coercive measures which are not within the domain of military force." Even to the diplomats of his own time this reference was not clear. But the Tsar had in mind a protocol signed at Vienna, by which the great powers had pledged themselves to exclude from their dominions, at the end of a five-year period, the colonial produce of the states which had not abandoned the slave trade. The principle had, of course, not been applied, yet Alexander now brought it forward hopefully as a means of solving the colonial question.

The proposal is certainly an interesting one, in the light of our own time. Indeed, it is well worth noting that the Russian autocrat, in the years after 1815, sought to promote two principles of international action which were, a century or so later, incorporated in the Covenant of the League of Nations at Versailles. The notion of a territorial guaranty, such as that afforded by the much discussed Article X., was a favorite conception of the Tsar's, and was urged by him with much eagerness, not only at Aix in 1818, but also at Troppau and Laibach in 1820 and 1821. And the notion of economic pressure was suggested, not only in 1817, but again in 1818, in connection with the American problem.

Alexander thus proposed a middle course by which he hoped to satisfy both Spain and Great Britain. His sympathy with the former power was obvious, his recognition of the necessity of conciliating the latter hardly less so. The memoir of November 29 is no flaming manifesto, but a cautious suggestion of compromise.

Despite its moderation, however, it met with a very unfavorable reception. Castlereagh had been deeply irritated by the Spanish note of October 20; nor could it have pleased him that Spain used the money paid to her by England as the price of the eventual abolition of the slave trade to purchase ships of war from the Tsar. He was in no mood to discuss the colonial question further, and apparently made no direct reply to the communication of the Tsar.<sup>30</sup> At Vienna Gentz characterized Alexander's memorandum as a bad joke rather than a statement of policy, and declared that the Tsar wished to force the hands of the powers.<sup>31</sup> Finally answering it in January, 1818, he declared the conquest of the colonies to be impossible, and the Russian suggestions too vague for comprehension.<sup>32</sup> At Berlin the Prussian government had already ranged itself with England.<sup>33</sup> And finally at Paris, though there may have been some sympathy with the Tsar, there was apparently little eagerness to press matters along the lines indicated by St. Petersburg.

The months immediately following the Russian memoir were devoted chiefly to the question of the Banda. It had always been the desire of Alexander to settle this matter first, before proceeding to the pacification of the colonies. It was his hope, indeed, as has been mentioned, that the two courts of Spain and Portugal might be brought to combine against the insurgents. Pozzo, in the Allied conference at Paris, labored diligently for a settlement, and, despite numerous complaints on his part of British perfidy, he seems to have been seconded by the British plenipotentiary, the Duke of Wellington.<sup>34</sup> The plan was to have Portugal give up the Banda to a Spanish force sent out to receive it. Thus Spain would have a base in Montevideo for operations against the insurgents of La Plata. But, as the Russian minister remarked, in treating with Spain it was necessary to "resign oneself to becoming prolix".<sup>35</sup> The negotiations dragged on without result; Spanish obstinacy and Portuguese shiftiness proved too much to overcome.

And now a new phase of the discussions opened with the approach of the date fixed for the reunion of the sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle. The King of Spain manifested a desire to attend the forthcoming congress. On June 29 the Spanish foreign minister, Pizarro, launched

<sup>30</sup> Webster, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII, 89.

<sup>31</sup> A. Prokesch von Osten, *Dépêches inédites du Chevalier de Gentz aux Hospodars de Valachie* (Paris, 1876), I, 331.

<sup>32</sup> *Lettres et Papiers du Chancelier Comte de Nesselrode* (Paris), V, 294-297.

<sup>33</sup> Castlereagh, *Correspondence, Despatches, and other Papers*, IX, 385-386.

<sup>34</sup> Baumgarten, II, 219.

<sup>35</sup> *Sbornik*, CXIX, 369.

a new note on the colonial question, which was intended to be conciliatory, and to regain the good graces of the British Cabinet.<sup>36</sup> This note was followed by another addressed to the Tsar, asking him to use his good offices to see that Ferdinand might be invited to Aix.<sup>37</sup>

The Tsar acceded to this request, at least so far as to urge the admission of a Spanish negotiator to the conference, and in this action he had the support of the Duc de Richelieu. On the question of the Banda, France and Russia had acted in close accord; on the colonial question they were now to do the same. The French premier believed that it would be highly desirable to bring the Spanish sovereign to Aix, in order to educate him to more reasonable views on the colonial question. He told Pozzo that he would seek to enlist Austrian influence behind the project. And he urged it upon the Duke of Wellington.

But the British veto to such a plan was sharp and emphatic. The English government would have nothing to do with it. The duke responded flatly to Richelieu, that if Ferdinand were invited to the congress, a Spanish representative must also appear, and this would lead to the great inconvenience that all the smaller sovereigns of Europe would feel that they must be invited also.<sup>38</sup> To Pozzo he spoke even more positively, declaring that Spain was hopeless and that Britain had every reason to complain of her conduct.<sup>39</sup>

On the question of inviting the Spanish king, or a Spanish representative, to Aix, the British view prevailed. But Castlereagh, though insistent on this point, was not equally insistent that the colonial question itself should not be discussed at the congress,<sup>40</sup> and the Tsar Alexander was, of course, anxious to bring the matter forward.<sup>41</sup> In this view he was warmly supported by the French. The French government had long had an interest in the colonial question, an interest based upon the possibilities of an expanding commerce with the colonies, and upon the hope of establishing Bourbon monarchies in the New World. It had, indeed, before the congress met, already sounded the court of Madrid, and entered into relations with a colonial agent, with a view to the sending of a Spanish prince to La Plata.<sup>42</sup> It hoped to secure collective support for some such scheme at Aix. The first step toward such an end would be the collective mediation of the great powers.

<sup>36</sup> Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, XII. 582-584.

<sup>37</sup> *Shornik*, CXIX. 770.

<sup>38</sup> Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, XII. 665.

<sup>39</sup> *Shornik*, CXIX. 810.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 663.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 664.

<sup>42</sup> Villanueva, *Bolívar y el General San Martín*, pp. 72-78.

France and Russia were thus agreed on pushing the consideration of the American problem at the congress. But the French notions of a settlement do not seem to have appealed to the Tsar; he wished Spain to determine her own policy;<sup>43</sup> and he may have known, what was certainly true, that the Bourbon monarchy project was anathema to Ferdinand. When it came, therefore, to the formulation of a programme of common action in the congress, the two powers pressed no specific programme, but confined themselves to laying the bases on which a successful mediation might proceed.

The first discussions took place toward the end of October. It was the French who took the initiative, Alexander apparently being willing that they should bear the brunt of the discussion, and the responsibility for precipitating it. From the beginning differences of opinion manifested themselves. All were agreed on the necessity of a moderate policy, and on the exclusion of force from the mediation. But Lord Castlereagh wished to make it clear to both sides that there was no question of coercion; while the French and the Russians wished only to declare this fact to Spain, in order to give that power an advantage in the negotiations. Moreover, the Continental friends of Spain desired a concerted effort at mediation; the British minister, on the other hand, declared that such a method would lead to the greatest confusion and suggested that the business be transacted through some directing power or "common plenipotentiary", well knowing that the directing power could only be Great Britain, and the common plenipotentiary the Duke of Wellington.<sup>44</sup>

These differences of view necessitated an adjournment without any agreement having been reached; but some three weeks later the French and the Russians returned to the charge. They submitted a joint memorandum to the conference urging the necessity of the mediation,<sup>45</sup> and while not adopting Castlereagh's proposal of a common plenipotentiary proposed to charge the Duke of Wellington with the leading rôle in negotiations at Madrid. This memorandum has usually been attributed to the Tsar; as a matter of fact it is, in many respects, an exact copy of a paper submitted to the French Foreign Office by Serrurier, who had been minister at Washington in the time of Napoleon.<sup>46</sup> It draws an eloquent picture of the danger which confronts Europe.

A whole republican world, young, full of ardor, rich in the products of every clime, with a soil of incomparable fecundity, may constitute it-

<sup>43</sup> *Sbornik*, CXIX, 665.

<sup>44</sup> London, Public Record Office, F. O. (Cont.) 92: 36, no. 22.

<sup>45</sup> Wellington, *op. cit.*, XII, 805-809.

<sup>46</sup> Villanueva, *Bolívar y el General San Martín*, p. 73.



self in the presence of old Europe, monarchical, over-populated, shaken by thirty years of revolutionary agitation, and scarcely re-established on its ancient basis, and will present to the eyes of statesmen a spectacle worthy of their most serious reflections, and a very real danger. Whatever remains of the spirit of unrest, of faction, and of disturbances in Europe, may find support in America. The consequences may be incalculable.

These dangers were particularly urgent, the memorandum declared, since there existed in the United States a strong agitation for the recognition of the republican government of La Plata, an act which would contribute more than anything else "to render the evil irremediable". It would be highly desirable for the powers to make representations at Washington against recognition, to inform the American government that mediation was intended, and to invite the United States to take part. In the meantime the Duke of Wellington might be sent to Madrid, there in concert with the ambassadors of the powers and the Spanish court to lay the basis of the projected negotiation.

The extraordinary thing about these proposals is the evidence they afford of the conciliatory policy of the Tsar. The suggestion that the Duke of Wellington be entrusted with the conduct of the mediation indicates in the most striking form his willingness to give full weight to the views of Great Britain. And the idea of associating the United States with the negotiations can only be regarded as proof of Alexander's moderation.

This latter notion, it is true, has sometimes been considered in another light. Just as Russian relations with Spain have been given a sinister interpretation by the historians, so Russian relations with this country have sometimes been interpreted in the same light. In both cases it has been assumed that the object was to find a counterweight against Great Britain. The Tsar's repeated efforts to bring the United States within the circle of the Holy Alliance, his willingness to see it play a part in the colonial question, have been treated as a part of this process.<sup>47</sup>

But the proposition put forward at Aix can hardly rest on such grounds. The sympathies of the United States with the colonial cause were obvious. The interest of the American government in the independence of the colonies was recognized in the instructions drawn up for Pol tica by Capodistrias in April, 1818.<sup>48</sup> The admission of the young republic of the West into negotiations deeply involving legitimist principle can hardly be otherwise explained than as

<sup>47</sup> See W. P. Cresson, *The Holy Alliance* (New York, 1922).

<sup>48</sup> *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII, 311.

evidence of liberalism. At Aix, it is to be remembered, as throughout the earlier period of the discussions on South America, the Tsar advocated, not the restoration of absolute rule, but the establishment of a more liberal system in the colonies. From such a standpoint the support of the United States might be useful as a means of pressure on Spain. But it could certainly be of little value as against Great Britain.

There was, of course, a more immediate motive, however, in the Aix proposal. The administration at Washington was being pushed by the agitation in Congress toward recognition of La Plata. It was near yielding in early 1819. No doubt the Tsar sought to tie its hands by associating it with Europe in the projected mediation. But to go beyond this and assume the intention of creating a new diplomatic combination seems hardly warranted by the facts. Even Pozzo, whose anti-British tendencies were notorious, never once suggested such a manoeuvre.

The purity of Alexander's intentions, however, needed some demonstration at the time. It is easy to see how the sinister interpretation might have been put on Russian policy. Tatishchev at Madrid had aroused all sorts of suspicions. His personal intimacy with the king, the intrigue which resulted in the sale of the Russian frigates to Spain, the Minorca rumor, and the vague reports of his encouragement to Ferdinand in the policy of reconquest of the colonies, had contributed to discredit the sincerity of Russia. Pozzo, at Paris, hardly inspired an unreserved confidence. It was easy to believe that Spain, at the instigation of Russian trouble-makers, was seeking to force the hands of the powers in the colonial question. It was easy to see in Alexander's proposal of an economic boycott against the revolutionists the opening wedge of a policy of coercion.

Such considerations had undoubtedly contributed to a certain tension in the relations of Russia and Great Britain. The discussions at Aix did not at first dispel them. For, though the tone of the debates was conciliatory and the Franco-Russian memorandum a marked concession to British views, the proposal of economic pressure against the South Americans was revived, with all its implications, from the British standpoint, of moral support for Spain. Lord Castlereagh was deeply disturbed, and finally decided to seek a direct understanding with the Tsar.

Accordingly, he sought the emperor just as he was preparing to leave Aix, and set forth his opinions with candor and fullness.

I took the first occasion to state [writes the British foreign secretary to Lord Liverpool] that I had very much wished for an opportunity to

submit to H. I. M. the simple point on which our Differences with the other Plenipotentiaries turned:—That we held that we were not entitled to arbitrate or to judge between H. C. M'y and his subjects, and as a Consequence, not competent to enforce any such Judgment directly or indirectly;—that we could only mediate or facilitate, and not compel or menace;—That the objection on our part was an objection of moral principle, not to be got over, and that, as the Prince Regent could not charge Himself with the Protection of these People—H. R. Highness could not justify to His own Feelings, even had He the means, the imposing upon Them what might be destructive to their Safety.

After this clear and definite statement, Castlereagh proceeded to pick to pieces the idea of an economic boycott.

I stated to the Emperor [he writes] that it was a species of Hostility, which we were not in the habit of using against our bitterest enemy;—that in the latter years of the War we had a large direct Trade with the Ports of France, and suffered the French Armies to be clothed by our Manufacturers. If we had tolerated Commerce with France in War, how deny it to our Subjects in Peace with South America, after they had been accustomed to this commerce for 10 years with the acquiescence of Spain?—That, were the British Government capable of making such a Proposition to Parliament, could Parliament be induced to pass such a Law, and to arm it with the severest penalties, H. I. M'y knew, from His own experience that a Contraband Commerce would set all such Laws at defiance, and that, supposing by a Miracle, the Contraband Trade could be prevented, the only result would be that the same amount of trade would pass circuitously by the United States to the provinces in Revolt. The People of South America would receive the same supply with a very trifling increase of charge, if any. The British Merchant would send out the same quantity of goods, and would make nearly the same profit, and Spain would gain no real advantage whatever, by this most unnatural and impracticable effort. Such a Delusion upon Spain, I was sure, would never meet H. I. M'y's Countenance, but that the insurmountable objection with us was the moral one first stated, and which I was convinced the Emperor would justly appreciate.<sup>49</sup>

The effects of this explicit statement were almost immediate. Alexander replied to the British foreign secretary that he understood the British viewpoint and regretted not having had the advantage of an explanation before he gave his orders to his ministers. He apparently forthwith determined not to press the matter further, for when the discussions on the American question were resumed, the Russians gave the French no support whatever.

The whole notion of a mediation, as a matter of fact, collapsed. The Duke of Wellington showed no enthusiasm for the task with which it was proposed to entrust him. In a long memoir, no doubt expressing the views of the British foreign secretary no less than his own, he pointed out the difficulties of the enterprise, the lack of con-

<sup>49</sup> F. O. 92:48. Nov. 24, 1818.

certed viewpoint as between the mediators, and the doubt as to whether Spain, which had lapsed into a sulkily silence, would be willing to accept moderate terms.<sup>50</sup>

This last objection was a particularly formidable one. For in September, 1818, the statesmen who in Spain passed for moderates, Pizarro and Garay, were driven from office, and a new ministry formed whose purpose in the colonial question was one of reconquest pure and simple. Behind this change, in part, was the influence of the intriguing Tatishchev, anxious to encourage the Spanish dream of re-subjugation. Even Alexander had complained of his representative's activity—to Castlereagh—and seen fit to rebuke him for his attitude. But the harm had been done; the Spaniards were no longer ready to talk of mediation on any terms; they thought only of the expedition which was preparing to sail for the colonies. It was hopeless to urge moderation; and though the Tsar exerted his influence in behalf of reason at Madrid, he exerted it in vain.

There was nothing to do but to leave Ferdinand and his counselors to their own devices. When in 1819 the French government sought to promote its favorite project of Bourbon monarchy in La Plata and to enlist the support of the Tsar in its favor, Alexander turned a deaf ear to the French proposals. He was on the worst of terms with the new French ministers; but in any case he was now convinced that the Spaniards must be left to try the policy of reconquest. No doubt he even hoped for its success.

The sympathies of the Russian autocrat, in every phase of the colonial question, it is sufficiently clear, were on the side of Spain. He would have preferred to see the South Americans brought again under the sovereignty of Ferdinand. But the inference sometimes drawn from this fact that he was willing to embark on an active policy of intervention would seem hardly a sound one. Even Castlereagh and Wellington long hoped for a solution of the American problem which would maintain the tie between the New World and the Old. Such a hope does not necessarily imply a desire for an armed reconquest of the colonies. Alexander was ready to go farther than the British, but he wished to move with them at every stage, and he never had the temerity to propose the use of force by the Allies. He hoped for a Spanish-Portuguese alliance against revolution; he suggested economic pressure to bring the colonies to terms. But even so, he recognized the necessity of a wise moderation, of having recourse "to a moral and political principle", as Pozzo put it, even in the event of coercion. There never was, either in 1818 or in

<sup>50</sup> Wellington, *Suppl. Desps.*, XII. 846-850.

1823, any intention to run directly counter to Great Britain, as an interventionist policy would have done.

The frequent allusions to the subjugation of South America by the Holy Alliance are based on no sound interpretation of events; the notion that any such course was intended is myth, rather than history. Matters never came to any such point; and whatever the secret dreams of Tatishchev or Pozzo, whatever the sympathies of the Tsar, there was always enough sobriety of judgment, enough understanding of and respect for the views of Great Britain, to make such extreme proposals impossible. The statesmen of 1817 could hardly view with indifference the spectacle of revolution in the New World; but they knew better than to attempt the impossible, or to sacrifice to dogma the interest of their own states and the harmony of Europe.

DEXTER PERKINS.

## THE UNEXPLORED REGION IN NEW ENGLAND HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

IN 1642 Massachusetts laid out her southern boundary line. The somewhat peculiar method adopted was to have two "skilful artists", as the records call them, locate a point three miles south of the Charles River, and then sail around to the Connecticut and locate a second point on that stream supposed to be in the same latitude. The arduous task was then completed by connecting these two points on a map with a pen and a ruler. During the past few years, in running the line of my historical survey through the New England of the eighteenth century, I have felt that even to-day the above method is one which we have to adopt, to much too great an extent, for nearly one-half of that period. On the one hand, monographs and printed sources are fairly abundant down to 1713. On the other, from 1763 onward there is not only an enormous mass of original material in print but we are guided by the valuable studies by Professors Schlesinger, Becker, Alvord, and others. The fifty intervening years, however, remind me of those leagues of unexplored forest between the Charles and the Connecticut which the "skilful artists" of Massachusetts refused to toil through.

It is easy to see why this should have been the case as American history was written a generation ago. It was then the first century—that of persecution, of settlement, of struggle with the wilderness—which lent itself most readily to the glorification of our Puritan forefathers and of their faith. It was the rapidly moving and dramatic, even if ill-understood, events from 1763 to the final break with England which lent themselves best to the glorification of democracy and to the twisting of the lion's tail. But the seemingly dull and drab half-century from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Paris did not for the most part lend itself to anything at all as history was then written and enjoyed.

But it is more difficult to understand why this period has still to a great extent been neglected by the newer historians of the past thirty years. We are, it is true, beginning to get those special studies which are essential to an understanding of any period. We have Professor Andrews's articles on "Anglo-French Commercial Rivalry", on the "Connecticut Intestacy Act", and others. We have Professor

<sup>1</sup> Paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association at New Haven, December 27, 1922.

Wood's first volume of the life of Governor Shirley. We are also soon to have, I am delighted to hear, the four volumes which the late Professor Osgood left unpublished at his death. There are, of course, others who are also working in this field, but as compared with either of the other fields, lying immediately before and after, particularly the latter, it is not unfair to characterize that from 1713 to 1763 as still comparatively unexplored. For example, it is hard to overestimate the intellectual, social, and political influences of such a movement as the Great Awakening. Yet we still have no volume on this subject as related to New England more recent than the unscientific one by Tracy written just eighty years ago.

It is natural in dealing with the century of the Revolution that that event should to a great extent dominate the historical writing concerning the period. It meets the eye, indeed, at every turn—like Fuji-yama in Japanese landscape art. As Professor Schlesinger says in his *Colonial Merchants*, more investigations have been made of the Revolutionary epoch in the past thirty years or so than in all the preceding ones. These investigations, however, have dealt almost wholly with the short period from 1763 to 1776. It is as though in looking at Japan's sacred mountain the eye should be so dazzled by the comparatively small snow-capped peak as to fail to note those sweeping outlines that lead down to the broad base. It is precisely that broad base, as it seems to me, which is as yet lacking in definiteness and fullness of content in almost all the accounts we have of the American Revolution.

The admirable work which has been done on the decade following the Peace of Paris has completely altered our view of the events of those years. We are beginning to understand the part played by the purely American struggle between radical and conservative. One of the most important points that has been brought out and one of the most fertile fields for investigation that has been indicated is this double nature of the movement as at once a civil war with England and a social upheaval in the colonies. It is the latter phase about which we yet know least and which calls for an intensive study of the preceding half-century.

Little by little as we have gained clearer comprehension of English colonial policy, of the effects of trade laws, and of the relations between mother country and colonies, the imperial causes of revolt have appeared to shrink more and more until, if we could believe some writers—who I think have reacted too far in their defense of English policy and statesmen—there would seem almost to have been no such causes at all. This much of truth, however, has definitely



emerged, that the grievances against England, particularly before the retaliatory acts passed in reply to colonial acts of violence, were not as great as they were formerly thought, nor were they great enough to have brought about the full sweep of the Revolutionary movement. If it has thus become unhistorical to consider that movement as the sudden rising of a hitherto contented people against a tyrannical monarch, nevertheless it is equally so to consider it as having been in the main the work merely of radical leaders. One can throw a lighted match upon the roadway and it will flicker and go out. It must fall upon combustible material to make a conflagration. If we would know why English statesmen and colonial demagogues found so much of such combustible material lying about in America between 1763 and 1776 we must turn to the preceding decades.

It is, of course, no new idea that the roots of the Revolution push deep into the past. It meets us in all modern writing on the subject. We all pay our tribute to the evolutionary rather than the cataclysmic theory of development. But there is as yet a striking difference between our knowledge and treatment of the Revolutionary movement during the decade from 1763 onward and during the decades before. Whereas in the later period we are no longer content with general causes and broad outlines but are studying in minute detail every shift in the game between conflicting interests of classes, of economic and political groups, we are still dependent in the earlier one to a very great extent upon mere generalizations. We note, truly perhaps but only in general terms, the influence of the frontier, of self-government, of comparative independence of the mother country, and so on, as explaining the overcharged intellectual and political atmosphere. For the later period we have adjusted our microscope so carefully and accurately as to reveal hitherto unsuspected detail and sharply to define the whole field of vision. We have not done so for the earlier one and consequently we see only in blurred outline the outstanding masses of form or color.

The generalized formulae that we use are by no means adequate. It may well have been, for example, that self-government had bred independence in attitude, but how does such a broadly stated fact explain that on nearly every successive question for two generations eastern Connecticut should have been radical and the western part of the same colony conservative? True as such general statements may be, do they not serve to throw into relief our lack of that sound, detailed knowledge of colonial life prior to 1763 on which alone it is safe to ground conclusions? Is it not evident that such statements when applied to a population in which parties were almost equally

divided must be submitted to a far more searching analysis? It has been our increasingly intimate knowledge of the final decade which has caused us to abandon the simple formulae which used to serve as explanation of the contest with England. We have analyzed the old generalized conception of the patriot party, and the local radical has emerged. But this "radical", it must be confessed, is as yet something of a generalized conception himself, something too much of a convenient lay-figure upon which we throw some of the former patriot's clothes. If we are to analyze the radical party as we have the patriot one, we must acquire as detailed knowledge of the earlier period, and of its many cross-currents and influences, as we have of the later.

Analogies in history are dangerous, and I pretend to no expert acquaintance with English history in the fourteenth century, but it would seem as though there might be a suggestive common element in the reaction of the American colonists to the Stamp Act and the reaction of the people of England to the Hearth Tax in 1381. Unpopular as that earlier tax was, the general and violent resistance to it throughout the English counties, if I am correct in accepting Professor Oman's interpretation, was in the main due to the fact that almost every locality already had its own peculiar local grievance. As he says, "things had been working up for trouble during many years—only a good cry, a common grievance which united all malcontents, was needed to bring matters to a head". Even if we do not go as far as some, we must admit that the proclaimed colonial grievances against England which loomed so large from time to time do not wholly explain the final plunge into war. We must also admit that no people, and least of all one mainly composed of a property-owning agricultural class, is stirred to revolution by radical agitators unless there is material in the form of long and deeply felt grievances for them to work upon. If, therefore, we have in part to explain the war with England by invoking the secondary struggle between radical and conservative in America—which, of course, is now an old story historically—do we not have to go further back to find the nature and sources of those grievances or conditions which through several decades had contributed to bring the radicals into existence?

When the final decade began, we have plenty of evidence that there was scarcely a section or class in all New England which did not have its specific grievance of some sort. In some cases, although not many, it was a grievance against English policy or officials merely as English; in others it was a grievance against some other colonial class or group; in yet others, although not so recognized, it was a grievance

merely against the operation of economic laws. "Let not your sons or mine deceive themselves", wrote John Adams in 1817, "this country like all others has been the scene of parties and feuds for near two hundred years." It was these grievances—class and sectional, numerous and diverse—which to a considerable extent bred the radical element, and which in the final crisis, according to laws of social psychology and under the influence of radical agitators, were all directed into the common channel of antagonism to England and the overthrow of the existing colonial order. We cannot understand these grievances, however, nor the conditions which bred them, unless we make far wider researches than we have yet done into that half-century of enormous development and silent change which preceded the decade of open agitation and discussion.

Although I do not think that the radical can be explained wholly in economic terms, it would appear that, for the most part, the specific grievances of which he complained were economic rather than political or religious. It is true that in the last decade religious emotion played its part, but I seriously doubt whether Sam Adams believed, as he asserted, that he dreaded the growth of popery in America more than any parliamentary attack upon civil rights. Had there been real religious grievances of long standing, as differenced from what may be called more or less of a temporary panic, a considerable part of the nonconformist clergy would not have had to be urged and have their fears deliberately worked upon in order to make them take an active part in the Revolution. In regard to a purely political issue as material for the growth of radicalism it is true that the franchise was a very limited one. Nevertheless, there is little to indicate that the average New Englander was much interested in politics—indeed, there is much to indicate the contrary—and I do not think that we should lay too much stress upon this matter of the franchise except locally in the newer towns. Not only did a large proportion of those entitled to vote, in urban as well as rural districts, consistently fail to do so but at the beginning of the Seven Years' War eighteen towns out of sixty-eight in Connecticut, and fifty-eight out of one hundred and fifty-three in Massachusetts did not even trouble to send representatives to the General Courts. Undoubtedly there were individuals, more public-spirited, ambitious, or cantankerous than the common run, who chafed at their exclusion, and in this connection there is an interesting little problem which has not yet been worked out concerning the possible results of the different qualifications for the town and provincial franchise. Many a man who had tasted the sweets of leadership in a town-meeting may have been irritated by

finding himself denied the larger arena of provincial politics. Allowing him to speak, yet, so to say, denying him a voice, may have created demagogic rebels against the political order at a time when politics were becoming something more of a career than they had been.

In the main, however, the discontents that were rife throughout New England would seem to have had an economic base. Various as these discontents were, and inadequate as our knowledge of the period yet is, it would appear that we can trace their origin to two main streams of tendency—one the increasing pressure on the land due to the increase in population and the wearing out of the soil, and the other the decreasing opportunity for the small man without capital to make way against steadily concentrating wealth and changed methods and control in business. The period from 1713 to 1763 was, on the surface, one of great expansion and stability, but under that surface there are indications that the causes just named were producing distress and uneasiness among the lower classes. The problems about which we yet know very little and which I believe will amply repay much study are those concerning the effects of the alterations in colonial land policy, of the shift in the per capita distribution of wealth, and of the changes in business methods. Just at the close of the period, these were emphasized by the economic and psychologic effects of the Seven Years' War, which likewise deserve that study for which our present experience affords an excellent foundation.

In the eighteenth century, the long-established land policy of New England was abandoned. Land was no longer granted freely to the individual settler as a member of a new town group but was sold to speculators, who in turn sold it to emigrants, reaping a profit on the original purchase price and an unearned increment on the lands retained. Although the price may have been moderate, the fact that the settler had to pay for his lands at once required him to have more money laid by, served notice on him that the freedom of the new country was passing, and made him feel that whereas by his toil and sweat he was giving the wilderness the only value it had, a little group of capitalists back in the comfortable settled towns was taking some of the profits of his labor from him by the easy method of a legislative grant. Swindling of various sorts by the speculators increased the resentment here and there. Even more did the fact that in many cases they retained in their own hands the right to vote on town affairs, so that in some new villages none of the pioneers themselves had anything to say as to the imposition of taxes and the management of village business. The absentee proprietors ruled the inhabitants for their own benefit, refusing to pay taxes or to con-

tribute toward necessary improvements such as roads and bridges. Throughout the period expansion had been rapid, except when interrupted by the war, and these grievances must have affected great numbers of frontiersmen. In the years from 1760 to 1764 it has been estimated that thirty thousand persons emigrated from Connecticut and that one hundred new townships were planned in New Hampshire alone. Even allowing for exaggeration, this in itself indicates an economic disturbance worthy of detailed study. The effect on land prices in the older settlements was also profound, and, although I cannot discuss them here, there were serious grievances for those who remained in the old settlements as well as for those who went forth to better their lot in the wilderness. These feelings of resentment of the frontier element against the capitalists of the settlements, and of the poor against the rich, easily merged into a resentment against the colonial governments and through that channel into one against England.

In connection with this point—the transference of a grievance against government into one against the mother country—we should also note carefully events in the charter colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island, where the government was almost wholly local, for cases parallel to those in the other colonies in which action was ostensibly directed against authority as being English. Thus the struggle of the assemblies with royal governors over their salaries has been considered as one for local autonomy, but we have to watch at times the same phenomenon in Connecticut, where Saltonstall, for example, was engaged in a similar contest to secure his own salary for a number of years. In the matter of the King's Woods, the loggers and timber stealers were, of course, only in appearance rebels against royal authority. Theirs was a state of mind common to all frontier development, as has been pointed out by Professor Turner, and almost the identical complaints of the eighteenth century against royal tyranny were heard again in the nineteenth against the paternal government at Washington. The ease with which all these simple economic grievances passed over into ostensible grievances against England is shown by the situation in Vermont. When the disputes occurred there with the authorities in New York, the capitalists and land speculators had been making trouble for the settlers. "They saw that there was no cash stirring", says a Whig account, "and they took that opportunity to collect debts, knowing that men had no other way to pay them than by having their estates taken by execution. . . . There were but very few among us that were able to buy; and they were so disposed that they would take all the world into their own

hands, without paying anything for it." Here was a frontier grievance of a sort common enough in an economic crisis, but just at that time all grievances were being merged against England, so this was cloaked under the guise of struggle for American liberty. The acts of the capitalists and land sharks were said to constitute a Tory plot and when a riot occurred a lad who proved a victim was said to have been slain by the "Cruel Ministerial tools of George the third".

Land speculation in such a case as the Susquehanna Company leads us into the field of the rise of capitalist groups, of political parties, and of the relations between capitalists and the legislatures. All these points were among the marked features of the period. Wealth was accumulating rapidly, but even more rapidly it was concentrating. Private corporations were being developed into instruments for ruthless business aggression. Rich men were gathering together into powerful financial groups, which were beginning to control not only smaller business men and farmers but even the legislatures and the courts. An example of the former case is to be found in the well-known United Company of Spermaceti Candles, which killed competition and fixed the prices of raw and finished product in its trade throughout the entire seaboard.

The growing influence of wealth on the legislatures and courts is indicated in many ways. The means by which grants of new townships were obtained will bear much investigation. We can see the influence of the speculators growing until the orgy following the Seven Years' War, when complete ascendancy was gained over the legislature of Connecticut by the Susquehanna Company stockholders. Dr. Gipson has worked out the story of how the group interested in lumber speculation got the same legislature to petition for an appointment in that colony of a judge of vice-admiralty, perhaps the most hated of all royal officials. The same thing, however, was brought about for their own particular purposes by the shipping group in Rhode Island. In each case it was hoped that the royal official might favor the pecuniary interests of a small number of individuals, although the scheme may be presumed to have run counter to the general wishes of the colonists. Both cases mark, somewhat brazenly, the culmination of tendencies that had long been at work.

Time does not permit me to mention other grievances that were felt by larger or smaller groups among the people before that final decade that has received so much detailed study. I have pointed to some of the better known ones as illustrations, but what I have learned of the period indicates to me that one of its outstanding features was the rise on the small colonial scale of what we may conveniently term

"big business", the ramifications of which were beginning to be felt throughout the entire range of colonial life, by the courts, the legislatures, the small business men, even the itinerant peddler and the poorest settler on the farthest frontier. Sometimes the impact was personal, sometimes the influence could not be directly traced, but the poor man saw the rich growing richer whereas he himself felt more and more shut out from the chance of rising. For some reason which he could not understand the freedom of the new world, to which he had been accustomed in the simplicities of an earlier day, was being closed to him. All these and many other grievances, which were real, brought about the growth of radical sentiment and, a little later, under able leadership, the organization of a revolutionary party. Few of them had any direct relationship to England, but the very fact that the source was in many cases intangible greatly assisted the patriot propaganda in concentrating all the varied resentments into one passionate hatred of the supposed tyranny of the king when certain imperial grievances also became real and prominent. As, for the most part, the richer individuals and groups who had been gradually gaining control of the political and economic life of the colonies naturally were in favor of continuing the existing order, the resentment was also directed against them. Hence came the now familiar double movement of civil war and revolution.

I do not believe, however, that we can understand either of these or most of the events from 1763 onward until we have made a thorough examination of the whole economic structure and of the economic tendencies as they affected all of the colonists and not merely those engaged in foreign trade during the preceding half-century. It is that period, both for its intrinsic interest and for the light it will shed upon the succeeding one, that holds, I think, rich rewards for the investigator. Moreover, as we have hitherto largely concentrated attention upon the relations between old and New England, and as those appear most clearly in the case of eastern Massachusetts, the history of New England has been, in the past, mainly that of the maritime counties of its largest colony, containing less than a third of the total population and by no means all of the culture or ablest leaders. It would seem, however, that the paradox were true that if we would understand the imperial situation from 1763 to 1776 we must study attentively the earlier activities of the colonists which ostensibly bore no relation to that situation. In doing so New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, western Massachusetts, and Vermont will more and more assume a proportionate share in our newer narrative.

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS.



## THE SOUTH CAROLINA UP COUNTRY AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE up country of South Carolina constitutes the hilly red-clay area extending from the middle region, bounded by the fall line of the rivers, back to the Appalachian mountain system. Although its settlement and development came much later than that of the coastal plain, it was destined to be the most important and influential part of the state, because of its greater area and resources and because it speedily came to contain the bulk of the state's white population. Much less has been written about the frontier than about Charleston and the low country, and much less is known of its early development, and yet it came to play an increasingly important part in state politics during the nineteenth century. With little of the romance and refinement of the low country, the interior was more permanent in its advancement, became much more wealthy by the end of the nineteenth century, and even in the period before the Civil War had come to take a leading part in setting forth the state's aspirations and ideals of civilization and government. Calhoun, the great champion of slavery and of states' rights and one of the ablest political leaders of the South, was a son of the up country. A study of its early progress may be well worth while.

As contrasted with the tidewater region at the end of the eighteenth century, with its long miles of flooded country, its gloomy cypress swamps, and its great rice plantations, tilled by the labor of patient slaves, the interior offered a very different picture, both in its geographic features and in its life. The coastal plain was West Indian in civilization and interests, and was in close touch with Europe, while the middle and upper country had strongly marked frontier aspects, with sparse, restless population, crude customs and occupations, and slight contact with the outside world. But for the spread of cotton culture it is difficult to believe that these regions would have made much progress for many years thereafter.

Stretching from the level, swampy, flooded tidewater to the hilly, red-clay up country, the middle country is rolling, sandy in parts, and covered with long miles of pine forests. At the time of the Revolution it was sparsely populated and even less developed than the upper region, although it was soon to take on better aspects. It was monotonous and uninteresting in appearance, and its inhabitants were mostly crude and poor. Cattle roamed through the forests there, as in other

parts of the state. Small patches of wheat, corn, potatoes, pease, and a few other food products were grown. The only staples of any importance for outside sale were indigo, wheat, corn, skins, and furs. Methods of farming were very crude. Orangeburg, Camden, Granby, and Columbia were its only towns of importance and the seats of its road and river trade with Charleston. But we will pass this area by hastily, as our attention is to be concentrated on the frontier.

If the low country and the middle region both had their peculiar features of geography and of civilization at the end of the eighteenth century, the upper country of South Carolina also had such—some of which have persisted down to the present, but most of which have long since disappeared before the progress of nineteenth-century development. Through it flowed the Catawba, the Broad, and the Saluda rivers, which united lower down to form the Congaree, and then the Santee. The sources of the Savannah River were also in this region. At various points along the banks of these streams could be heard the roar of waterfalls—which are now harnessed to develop the electric power which drives great cotton-mills, furnishes motion to interurban trolley systems, and illuminates many thriving towns and cities. Stretching away westward in gentle undulations from the fall line of the rivers, the upper country becomes more and more hilly and broken, until it rises into the majestic mountains of the Appalachian system. This red-clay region was in parts thickly forested and in others covered with grasses and with canebrakes. Like other parts of the state, it teemed with animal life. Bears and panthers, deer and wildcats roamed at large. The deadly rattlesnake lurked in waiting for his victim. Down to the outbreak of the Revolution, herds of buffaloes grazed in the grassy prairie regions. And if the last of these disappeared beyond the mountains by 1775, their deep-worn trails leading to favored licks and ranges persisted for many years afterwards, as was the case with piles of bones of the slaughtered animals, whose tongues, hides, and flesh were all held most desirable both by Indians and by white hunters.<sup>1</sup> Not until after the middle of the eighteenth century did the fierce and warlike Catawbans and Cherokees recede before the advance of white frontiersmen, although the tidewater had long since come under the control of European settlers. And the yells and war-whoops of Indians had not long ceased to be heard, before the clash of arms between Whigs and Tories, Britons and Americans, broke the stillness of the up-country forests. The rifles of Morgan's rangers humbled the pride of fiery Tarleton and his legion at the Cowpens near Spartanburg.

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Logan, *A History of the Upper Country of South Carolina*, I, 16.

On King's Mountain in York District the partizan bands trapped Ferguson with his Tories and thereby turned the tide of war in the South. And the up country had its hunters and its cattlemen, whose exploits, if told, would sound like those of Daniel Boone or of nineteenth-century cow-punchers in the Far West. Here then was a part of the rolling piedmont frontier, which stretched away southwestwardly from Pennsylvania to Georgia, home of the Scotch-Irish and German stocks, which framed the Mecklenburg Resolutions and initiated the Whiskey Rebellion.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, and especially from 1763 on, there was a steady advance of settlers into the up country from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. But not more than half of this region came to be occupied, as the Cherokee and Catawba Indians retained possession of the rest. The whites who moved in from the northeastward were comparatively few in number and lived in scattered homesteads, producing most of what they needed, and hardly in touch with the coast at all. They exported very little and only imported salt, ammunition, and larger iron articles, by way of Camden or by wagons driven up from Charleston. Yet skins, butter, tallow, flour, hemp, indigo, and tobacco were sent down in small quantities to market.<sup>2</sup> An interesting letter from Charleston of November 14, 1768, later printed in the *Boston Chronicle*, gives an idea of this traffic as follows:

Since the beginning of this month, several large quantities of excellent tobacco, made in the back settlements, have been brought to this market; and we are told, it might soon be made a very considerable article among our exports, were two inspectors appointed at each of the following places, viz, Congarees, Camden, Charraw Hill, and Charles Town.

The northwestern, north and northeastern parts of this Province, have lately been so greatly improved, that (altho' so many of the people have been a long time past employed in works of Reformation or Regulation) we are informed, the quantity of Hemp made last year is nearly doubled this; that the inhabitants now manufacture most of their linens (such as cost in England from 12 to 18 d. a yard), Linsey-Woolsey, and even coarse cloths: that it has been proposed shortly to establish a stocking manufactory amongst them; that saw-mills are erecting in various parts; and the produce of good wheat has been so great this year that we may soon expect, from Camden alone, 2000 barrels of flour and 1500 of ship bread.<sup>3</sup>

But, after all, though cattle were raised in large numbers, and corn and other crops grown to some extent, the up country was a lonely frontier until after the Revolution.

<sup>2</sup> Ramsay, *The History of South Carolina*, II. 598.

<sup>3</sup> *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, II. 273-274.

The cessation of military struggles in the South was the signal for revival of prosperity in all parts of South Carolina. In the up country we find steady growth of population, due both to the arrival of migrants from the northward and to that of emigrants from Europe.<sup>4</sup> The early settlers had located near rivers and on soil that was suited to the cultivation of tobacco, and this crop remained the one of chief importance until cotton growing was taken up.<sup>5</sup> The appearance of new settlers did not by any means cause congestion of population, for there were large spaces to be filled, and also the lands hitherto reserved to the Indians began to be opened up. Furthermore the rage for new lands and the restlessness of the settlers were constantly causing many of them to move over the mountains into Tennessee and Kentucky. A good picture of the back country is given by a gentleman at Spartanburg in a letter of June 2, 1786, to a friend in Charleston. According to this,

Bread has been and still is very scarce here, but our prospect of wheat is flattering; and simple grain in general very good. This is truly a fine country . . . the seasons are mostly very regular. . . . Our back country is in general hilly, but not so broken as to render it obnoxious to cultivation; the soil is thin in some places. . . . The grape vine grows universally . . . ; the mulberry and walnut tree in the richer or low grounds. The common notion that clover and timothy grass will not grow here, is ill-founded. . . . This part of the country is at present in a rude uncultivated state. . . . Land is too cheap, too easy to be acquired. Nature has been so liberal of her bounties, that her sons who are brought up in ease are strangers to necessity. It is nothing uncommon in this country for men settled on land of their own, and sufficiently cleared, inclosed, and tilled . . . on hearing of a better place of range [to sell or leave even without selling]. Many there are who depend wholly on hunting for a subsistence. . . . I know of no expedient that will tend to render them fixable and permanent, except there should be any difficulty in obtaining new lands, which will soon be the case if the limits of the State are not extended, which may only cause them to leave it.

He also wrote that this part of the state was not rich, but that men there retained health and strength for many years.<sup>6</sup>

Here we have a picture of the frontier, capable of great development, but as yet hardly cleared, although its impatient settlers were already gazing at the mountains and in small groups crossing these for Tennessee and Kentucky. Endless spaces bred insatiable craving, and in the piedmont of South Carolina, as in western Virginia and Pennsylvania, or in the Connecticut River Valley, the "star of des-

<sup>4</sup> Drayton, *A View of South Carolina*, p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> La Rochefoucauld, *Travels through the United States of North America* (London, 1799), I, 625.

<sup>6</sup> Charleston (S. C.) *Morning Post*, July 3, 1786.

tiny" was pointing westward, and there were ever men ready to follow her guidance. Thus in the space of years was accomplished the "conquest of the continent", and the American pioneer gazed upon the Pacific and watched the sun set beneath the waters of the great western ocean. This was the same spirit of *Wanderlust* which had sent the German tribes troop after troop into the decaying Roman Empire, and which had animated Columbus and the sixteenth-century explorers when they ventured out upon the broad Atlantic.

Another letter of 1786, written in Charleston, may be quoted from on the same subject as follows: "Our settlements on the western waters are increasing in strength daily; near 100 miles on Cumberland river are now settled, and emigrants from the Carolinas and Virginia, are constantly travelling to Kentucke and Cumberland."<sup>7</sup>

But the western movement was also stirring men who remained in South Carolina to push into that broad expanse of territory which the state reserved to the Indians. Thus in March, 1784, we find the heirs of the late Jacob Hite petitioning the legislature to be allowed to retain possession of six thousand acres of land which he had purchased of the Cherokee Indians, and having their petition granted.<sup>8</sup> Just a few days later an act was passed by which all lands northwest of the old boundary line<sup>9</sup> between the Cherokees and the state, from the Savannah River north, 50° east to Reedy River, and then due north to the North Carolina boundary were to be sold for £10 per 100 acres. Persons already settled there were to have preference for six months to their lands. Arrangements were also made for laying off and surveying the newly opened region.<sup>10</sup> Two years afterwards a bill was brought up "for reserving certain Lands for the present use and Occupation of the Cherokee Indians, and to extend the time of payment for new Granted Lands",<sup>11</sup> That there was opposition in the up country to the establishment of such a reservation is indicated by the fact that counsel was heard against this bill.<sup>12</sup> However, it was passed on March 22, and provided that the land in the state "to the north and northwest of a line running from the top of the Oconnie mountain, northeast till it intersects the North Carolina boundary and the top of the said mountain, southwest till it intersects

<sup>7</sup> Carey, *The American Museum*, III. 435.

<sup>8</sup> *Journals of the House of Representatives of S. C.*, 1784, p. 234.

<sup>9</sup> This boundary had been fixed by treaty in 1777. See Ramsay, *Hist. of S. C.*, I. 217.

<sup>10</sup> Cooper, *Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, IV. 590.

<sup>11</sup> *Journals of the Senate of S. C.*, 1786, p. 277.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

the river Toogooloo" should be reserved to the Cherokees and that "all grants, sales, or conveyances" therein should be null and void.<sup>13</sup>

A glance at the map in Ramsay will show what a large region was opened to white settlement by the act of 1784 and also what a reasonable amount was set aside for the Cherokees by that of 1786. More than one-third of the up country was thus made available for the whites, and the once mighty Cherokees were restricted to the mountains and to the region beyond. A chapter in Indian history was closed thereby, and the red man was on the point of vanishing from the borders of the state. But the Indian peril was not yet at an end, and the war-whoop, the tomahawk, and the scalping knife were still dreaded in the upper country. While governor of South Carolina from 1787 to 1789, General Thomas Pinckney devoted the greater part of his "official communications" to the subject of frontier defense. He recommended to the legislature the establishment of a permanent military force, thought that cavalry should be dispensed with, and praised General Pickens's aid in dealing with the Indians. In reply the legislature authorized the governor "to maintain and use this military force as he shall think best".<sup>14</sup>

In the legislative journal for 1788, the governor's message on the subject is given,<sup>15</sup> and a bill was passed dealing with the matter as above mentioned.<sup>16</sup> On July 9 of that year the justices of the court of Abbeville County drew up an address "to the people living on Nolechucky, French-Broad, and Holstein" protesting against attacks and murders of friendly Indians committed by a party from these settlements, despite a treaty of peace with these Indians, the Cherokees. These attacks, it was feared, might prevent the treaty from being completed which was then under consideration between the Creeks and the Georgians.<sup>17</sup> This address by a South Carolina court to settlers in North Carolina strikes me as quite significant in showing the importance of the Indian problem all along the frontier. Five years later peril from the Cherokee Indians seemed imminent, and the grand jury of Washington District testified in its presentments "to the vigilant spirit by which both officers and men were actuated during the late alarm from the Indians" and acknowledged gratefully the attention of the legislature on the subject.<sup>18</sup> On December 25, 1799, the senate ordered "that the consideration of the Resolution of the

<sup>13</sup> Cooper, *Statutes*, IV, 747.

<sup>14</sup> C. C. Pinckney, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney*, pp. 91-92.

<sup>15</sup> S. C. House Journals, 1788, p. 15.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>17</sup> Carey, *Amer. Mus.*, IV, 429.

<sup>18</sup> *State Gazette of S. C.* (Charleston), June 28, 1793.

House of Representatives of this day, respecting the discontinuance of the Forts and Guards on the frontiers of this State be postponed".<sup>19</sup> Drayton states that a guard had been occasionally stationed at "Occonnee Mountain", but that it was no longer continued.<sup>20</sup> And so we are to think of an Indian peril as continuing to exist on the frontier of South Carolina down to the close of the eighteenth century.

But if the warlike Cherokees were pushed back to the mountains and the Western country, another once mighty tribe, the Catawbas, remained in the state, living on a reservation of 144,000 acres, on each side of the Catawba River, within a few miles of the North Carolina line. At the end of the seventeenth century this nation could put fifteen hundred fighting men into the field. In 1743 it mustered only four hundred warriors, including refugees from several smaller tribes. Even in the middle of the eighteenth century the Catawbas made excursions by way of the mountain ridges as far north as New York, where they encountered the Six Nations in battle. In 1751 a conference was held at Albany, attended by Governor Clinton of New York, commissioners from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and South Carolina, chiefs of the Six Nations, and the king of the Catawbas, together with some of his advisers. At this conference a lasting peace was made, which put an end to the long and bitter war which had existed between the hostile Indians.<sup>21</sup> Much more could be written to depict the prowess of the Catawbas. And yet by the end of the eighteenth century they were a weak and degenerate people, numbering hardly sixty warriors, addicted to drunkenness, and living in small villages, surrounded by whites.<sup>22</sup>

Curiously enough the story of the Catawba reservation is not given in any of the histories of South Carolina; an account is however to be found in Charles Colcock Jones's *History of Georgia*. On November 5, 1763, a convocation at Augusta was attended by the governors of Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, the lieutenant-governor of Virginia, and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Southern Department. Seven hundred Indians were present, representing the Chickasaws, Creeks, Cherokees, Catawbas, and Choctaws. Article 4 of the treaty arranged provided that the "Catawba Head-Men and Warriors" would remain satisfied with the reservation of fifteen square miles, whose survey had already begun, and that "the respective Governors and Superintendent" would guarantee the com-

<sup>19</sup> S. C. Senate Journals 1799, p. 196.

<sup>20</sup> Drayton, *View of S. C.*, p. 14.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*



pletion of this survey, and would promise that "the King's subjects" would not molest the Catawbas within the limits of the reservation, and that these Indians should "be indulged in the usual manner of hunting elsewhere".<sup>23</sup> A legislative enactment of 1838 mentions the fact that Samuel Wiley made a survey of the Catawba lands on February 22, 1764.<sup>24</sup> Howe states that a small Presbyterian church and congregation were organized in the heart of this reservation in 1785.<sup>25</sup> A few of the Catawbas have been living on a part of it in York County down to the present day, still receiving appropriations of money from the state legislature. A law of 1808 permitted them to lease their lands to white settlers for as much as ninety-nine years.<sup>26</sup> In the spring of 1786, Governor William Moultrie issued a proclamation stating that the Catawbas had petitioned the legislature as to their being prevented from hunting. He declared that by treaty these Indians had the right to hunt anywhere in the state, provided they did not do so within enclosures and injure the inhabitants. He also authorized the Indians to choose from three to five agents from the state's citizens who might see justice done to them.<sup>27</sup> Gregg states that in 1787 the Catawbas constituted "the only organized tribe, under a distinct name of its own, in South Carolina", and that in 1798 they were in the habit "of holding an anniversary meeting of a sadly interesting character . . . to commemorate their former greatness".<sup>28</sup> So much for Indian matters in the years following the Revolution.

Contemporaneous with the retirement of the red man, or his settlement upon reservations, was the advance of the white into the lands thus newly opened up. As the act of 1784 would indicate, there were already white settlers in the old Indian reservation, and their number was steadily increasing. On March 22, 1786, an act was passed establishing the county of Greenville "in the new ceded lands . . . bounded by Saluda river and the south fork thereof, the old Indian boundary, and the North Carolina line", which is to be "entitled to county courts". This region "on the north side of Saluda river, below the Indian line" had been much inconvenienced by being attached to older counties.<sup>29</sup> An article of June, 1786, described the western extremity of the state as increasing in population, as prospering, and as

<sup>23</sup> C. C. Jones, jr., *The History of Ga.* (1883), II, 42-46.

<sup>24</sup> *Revised Statutes of South Carolina*, p. 420.

<sup>25</sup> Howe, *Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, I, 518.

<sup>26</sup> *Rev. Stats. S. C.*, p. 420.

<sup>27</sup> *State Gazette of S. C.*, Apr. 10, 1786.

<sup>28</sup> Gregg, *History of the Old Cheraws*, p. 18.

<sup>29</sup> Cooper, *Statutes of S. C.*, VII, 245.

being almost without any negroes.<sup>30</sup> In March, 1788, another article announced: "So much has this state increased in population, consequently in opulence, that upwards of 1600 persons have settled between the new and old boundary line, who have improved the country greatly, a road being cut for several miles 30 feet wide."<sup>31</sup> During the fall of 1788, two bills were brought up, the one "to establish a County between Savannah and Saluda Rivers, above the old Indian boundary",<sup>32</sup> and the other "to entitle the Counties of Greenville and Augusta to a representation in the General Assembly".<sup>33</sup> At the time, however, nothing was done in regard to either matter. On February 4 of the next year a house committee reported "that the Counties of Greenville and Augusta are not properly represented in the Legislature of this State and recommend that each of the said Counties be allowed to choose One Senator and Representatives".<sup>34</sup> March 7, 1789, an act was passed by which Greenville and Pendleton counties were each to elect one member to the senate and three to the house.<sup>35</sup> On the same day another act was passed creating Pendleton County, "beginning at Savannah river, and running along the old Indian boundary line, which divides it from Abbeville county, to Saluda river; thence up the said river to the new Indian boundary; thence along the said boundary line to Toogaloo river; thence down the said river and Savannah river, to the beginning".<sup>36</sup> A glance at the map in Ramsay will show that Pendleton County was much larger than Greenville. Although created later, its population was destined to grow more rapidly. In June, 1793, the grand jury of Washington District commented on the progress of these two counties in picturesque language, savoring of a breezy, optimistic western atmosphere, which ran as follows:

We contemplate with great pleasure, that Pendleton county, which in year 1786, did not contain twenty families, in the beginning of the year 1793, at this time, contains *thirteen thousand souls*!—what an astonishing effect of population! ! ! . . .

We repeat again, that when Pendleton and Greenville counties in 1786, were first settled, there were not in these large counties forty families—now in the beginning of 1793, we calculate and know from the census and the accession since, there cannot be less than twenty thousand souls!<sup>37</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Charleston (S. C.) *Morning Post*, June 9, 1786.

<sup>31</sup> *City Gazette* (Charleston), Mar. 4, 1788.

<sup>32</sup> S. C. Senate *Journals*, 1788, p. 53.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>34</sup> S. C. House *Journals*, 1789, p. 138.

<sup>35</sup> Cooper, *Statutes*, V. 105.

<sup>36</sup> *Id.*, VII. 252.

<sup>37</sup> *State Gazette of S. C.*, June 28, 1793.

Another newspaper article, of 1794 and on the same subject, may be quoted from also to the following effect: "Thirty years ago, Abbeville and Edgefield counties were so inconsiderable as to remain a part of St. Bartholomew's parish. They now contain 17,280 white inhabitants. The numbers of Pendleton county, which about eight years ago was entirely a desert, now amount to 8731; with this rapid growth in population, wealth must greatly increase."<sup>38</sup>

By 1795 a newspaper was being published in the up country, and on November 18 of that year "a memorial was presented to the house, from John Miller, printer, in Pendleton county, praying for an act to pass, to make his gazette a paper of record; which being read, was referred to a committee".<sup>39</sup> It may be noted in passing that the name Augusta mentioned in the legislative journals was apparently the one first suggested for Pendleton County—at least it does not appear again.

The opening up and settlement of Greenville and Pendleton counties marked the passing of the frontier from South Carolina. On March 8, 1787, an act was passed authorizing the state's delegates in Congress to cede to the United States her claims to Western lands.<sup>40</sup> Henceforward adventurous spirits eager to penetrate into wild regions and to contend with Indians must cross the mountains into Tennessee, or else push down into Georgia, where there were lands in abundance, as well as powerful Indian tribes bitterly resentful of encroachments by the whites. In South Carolina itself there was much to be done in the way of development and of clearing forested areas, but the frontier proper had ceased to exist. The growing of grains and vegetables, mostly for domestic consumption, tobacco culture, and cattle-raising remained the chief pursuits for some years. There were a few iron works, where various articles were manufactured after the ores had been smelted. Also much cotton was spun and woven into yarn and cloth for the use of the farmers' families. But the back country remained crude, self-centred, and self-sufficing until the 'nineties, when the boom in cotton growing brought it a crop which made possible the acquisition of wealth on a large scale and which involved the introduction of slave labor and of the plantation system. Even then it is not to be assumed that a rapid change took place altering all customs of life immediately. Something like a generation must have elapsed while the process was being completed.

<sup>38</sup> *Charleston City Gazette*, Aug. 14, 1794.

<sup>39</sup> *Id.*, Nov. 23, 1795.

<sup>40</sup> Cooper, *Statutes*, V. 5.

Thus by 1825 South Carolina stood forth as a typical plantation state, with slave labor everywhere in use. The various attempts at industrial development taken up during the early nineteenth century had practically all failed. These facts, together with economic depression caused by competition from the rich gulf lands of the lower Mississippi Valley, distress resulting from high tariffs and from the commercial supremacy of the great Northern seaports, and, a little later, bitter resentment and alarm engendered by the abolition crusade—all combined—led on toward nullification and secession, toward the end of slavery and the death of the Old South.

But all of this was yet far away from the life of upper South Carolina before 1800, whose wildness and crudeness are depicted for us by various travellers in interesting fashion. For instance, the Hon. Jonathan Mason writes in his diary: "Left Greenville . . . and rode through a miserable country with a tolerable road, and finally arrived after dark to a miserable log-house by the name of Wilkes. But one room, two beds full of vermin, and not a single thing of any kind to eat or drink; six or seven children crying in the house, and two drunken Scotch neighbors, drinking, reeling, and smoking."<sup>41</sup>

In complete harmony with this New England gentleman is to be found C. W. Janson, an Englishman, who tells us,

The lower class in this gouging, biting, kicking country, are the most abject that, perhaps, ever peopled a Christian land. They live in the woods and deserts, and many of them cultivate no more land than will raise them corn and cabbages, which, with fish, and occasionally a piece of pickled pork or bacon, are their constant food. This land, on which, prior to their settlement, no human step had ever marked a path, required clearing of trees, whose tops almost reached the clouds, before a spot could be found large enough to erect a shelter for the women and children. Their habitations are more wretched than can be conceived; the huts of the poor of Ireland, or even the meanest Indian wig-wam, displaying more ingenuity and greater industry. They are constructed of pine trees, cut in lengths of ten or fifteen feet, and piled up in a square, without any other workmanship than a notch at the end of each log, to keep them in contact. When this barbarous pile is raised between six and seven feet, they split the remainder of their logs to the thickness of two or three inches, and by laying them over the whole in a sloping direction, form the roof. The chimney is, if possible, worse than Dr. Johnson describes the hole in the roof of a house in Scotland, through which the smoke found a passage. The summer's scorching sun, and the bleak winds of winter, are equally accessible to this miserable dwelling.<sup>42</sup>

These two descriptions give a very good picture of the plainness of life in the upper country. That the soil in this region was fertile,

<sup>41</sup> Hon. Jonathan Mason, *Extracts from Diary*, p. 29.

<sup>42</sup> C. W. Janson, *The Stranger in America*, p. 304.

we can readily believe. One writer asserted that it was very much more so than that of the tidewater.<sup>43</sup> La Rochefoucauld tells us that the backwoods settlers started with little or nothing, but endeavored to make fortunes by clearing land which they could purchase on credit for one or two dollars an acre and then could "easily sell again for four or five times as much", after paying the purchase money out of the produce of the first year's cultivation.<sup>44</sup> It can be assumed very easily that these early settlers were not skillful farmers, and various writers, Robert Goodloe Harper among them,<sup>45</sup> confirm this opinion. Drayton also writes that wheat was generally cultivated in the up country for domestic consumption, twelve or fifteen bushels being produced by careless methods to the acre. The farmers justified such carelessness by asserting that they could thus raise easily all that their families needed and that it would be very difficult to transport any surplus of so bulky a commodity to market. In the neighborhood of good flour-mills, however, as at Camden, the situation was quite different, and where the ground is well tilled, and "the wheat is ploughed in, (which is done by a few of the best farmers,) the produce is from twenty to twenty five bushels the acre". He tells us, furthermore, that "ploughs are for the most part used in the middle and upper country; where labourers are less, and the soil more tenacious and stubborn" than is the case in the low country.<sup>46</sup>

Besides tobacco, which was the chief crop until about 1800, cotton, and wheat, there were also grown hemp and flax. Horses and stock of different kinds were also raised for sale.<sup>47</sup> Interest came to be taken in grass lands on which animals could graze.<sup>48</sup> In the upper country, as in all other parts of the state, large herds of cattle and hogs roamed through the woods, and to keep these out of cultivated lands split-rail or "worm" fences were put up, which according to law must be six feet high so as to be strong enough to fulfill this function properly.<sup>49</sup> Michaux observed that the different species of fruit trees grown in France should succeed well in the upper Carolinas, but he found only peaches grown generally, and in some localities apples.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *American Husbandry*, by an American, I, 388.

<sup>44</sup> La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, I, 576 (London, 1799).

<sup>45</sup> *Observations on the North-American Land-Company*, p. 113.

<sup>46</sup> Drayton, *View of S. C.*, pp. 139, 140.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>48</sup> La Rochefoucauld, *op. cit.*, I, 625.

<sup>49</sup> Drayton, *View of S. C.*, p. 114.

<sup>50</sup> F. A. Michaux, *Travels to the Westward of the Alleghany Mountains*, p.

Mention has already been made of domestic spinning and weaving, and also of the iron industry. According to two authorities "gunpowder is occasionally manufactured in the upper country [of South Carolina]; not, however, by a regular set of mills; but in a small way, and as exigencies may require". Usually, however, gunpowder and saltpetre were procured from Tennessee and Kentucky.<sup>51</sup> The Aera and Aetna furnaces in York County, near the Catawba River, constituted the largest and only important iron establishment in the state. Here ores were smelted and castings made. Cannon and cannon balls were manufactured, as well as various articles for domestic use, such as chimney backs, gudgeons, cranks, nails, pots, kettles, skillets, etc. The ore was secured nearby, and a water blast was used for blowing the furnaces. This plant was owned by Messrs. Hill and Hayne.<sup>52</sup> Frequent notices of it appeared in the Charleston papers. Near these iron works "red and yellow ochres" were found and were used successfully in painting houses in Yorkville.<sup>53</sup>

Enough has been written to give an idea of the simple, quiet life of the interior, in the days before cotton culture was taken up on a large scale, and before railroads and steamboats brought the piedmont into close touch with the sea-coast and with the outside world. As to towns, mention should be made of Winnsborough, an old settlement in the up country and the seat of Mount Sion College, which is in operation as an academy down to the present. An act for "establishing Fairs and Markets in the Town of Winnsborough" was passed by house and senate in March, 1785.<sup>54</sup> Evidently in connection with the college, an advertisement of March, 1787, announced that at Winnsborough "young gentlemen can be boarded in a most eligible manner for the moderate sum of twelve pounds sterling per annum", contrary to sundry malicious reports.<sup>55</sup> Michaux described the town as having about one hundred and fifty houses, as being one of the oldest communities in the state, and as being a summer resort for some of the low-country planters.<sup>56</sup> It is about fifty miles to the northwest of Columbia.

Four other towns in the up country deserve mention here, although only one of them was of any especial importance. Ninety-Six, or Cambridge, as it was called by a legislative enactment of 1787, had been a frontier outpost against the Indians during the colonial period

<sup>51</sup> John Lambert, *Travels*, II. 458, and Drayton, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 152.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>54</sup> S. C. House Journals, 1785, p. 262.

<sup>55</sup> Charleston Morning Post, Mar. 1, 1787.

<sup>56</sup> Michaux, *Travels*, p. 326.

and had been the scene of some fighting during the Revolution, but only consisted of a few dwelling-houses and stores.<sup>57</sup> About 1800 Chatham, at the head of navigation of the Pee Dee River, and Vienna, occupying a somewhat similar position on the Savannah, were villages which were expected to develop into important fall-line trading towns.<sup>58</sup> As has been stated earlier, both were included with Camden in the act of 1795 for the "packing and barreling" of beef and pork. Neither of them, however, ever did develop. The Pee Dee River region failed to become an important trading centre, and on the Savannah River Augusta, with its later satellite Hamburg on the South Carolina side, monopolized the river commerce. New Bordeaux, or Abbeville, near the Savannah River, was settled in 1764 by a colony of persecuted French Protestants led to America by Reverend Peter Gilbert.<sup>59</sup> It was later the site of the famous Waddell school and has continued to exist down to the present.

It may be well at this point to give some statistics showing the progress of the up country. According to Ramsay there were in 1808 eight acres of uncleared land to each one that was cleared in this region. Also there was about one human being to every thirty-six acres of land. In 1755 the country from the Waxhaws on the Catawba across to Augusta on the Savannah River did not contain twenty-five families. But by 1808 this region comprised twelve large and populous districts.<sup>60</sup> The census returns for 1790 and 1800, as given by Drayton, testify to advance in the state and in the up country. In 1790 the population of South Carolina totalled 249,073, of which 107,094 were slaves. In 1800, the total population was 345,591, and the number of slaves, 146,151.<sup>61</sup> I have worked out from these returns the following interesting table:

| LOW COUNTRY |        |                                   | MIDDLE COUNTRY |        |                                   | UPPER COUNTRY |        |                                   |
|-------------|--------|-----------------------------------|----------------|--------|-----------------------------------|---------------|--------|-----------------------------------|
| Total       | Slaves | Other free persons besides whites | Total          | Slaves | Other free persons besides whites | Total         | Slaves | Other free persons besides whites |
| 107,060     | 78,000 | 1216                              | 40,089         | 13,309 | 243                               | 100,824       | 15,785 | 342                               |
| 125,715     | 95,015 | 1492                              | 74,895         | 26,204 | 1168                              | 154,047       | 24,032 | 525                               |

<sup>57</sup> Drayton, *View of S. C.*, p. 209.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>59</sup> Howe, *Presbyterian Church in S. C.*, I. 352-356.

<sup>60</sup> Ramsay, *History of S. C.*, II. 599, 602.

<sup>61</sup> Drayton, *op. cit.*, p. 104.



The table throws light on the relative growth in population of the tidewater, the middle region, and the up country, and on the advance of slavery into the interior. There are slight discrepancies between the figures here and the totals,<sup>62</sup> but they seem to be due to errors in the printing. By 1790, evidently, there was already a fair number of slaves in the middle and the upper country, about one-third of the population of the former being slave and about one-seventh of the latter. The low country was the black belt. By 1800 the middle-country population had almost doubled, while the slaves had quite done so. Thus the plantation system was advancing. The population of the up country had passed by that of the tidewater and had increased by one-half, and its number of slaves, by the same amount. Thus it was not yet a planters' community, nor yet ready to support the ideals of the tidewater slavocracy, although this development was to come in the course of another generation with the spread of cotton culture.

A result, perhaps unlooked for, of the opening of the upper country was a succession of annual river floods, which swept away bridges and did serious damage to adjacent plantations from Columbia and Augusta down. The highest and most destructive of these freshets was that of 1796. St. Stephen's Parish in the lower Santee River valley suffered most seriously by them and by the end of the century ceased to be one of the richest districts in the state.<sup>63</sup> The newspapers of the period are full of accounts of these floods and of the damage which they occasioned. The clearing away of the forests in the piedmont, which had tended to retain moisture in large quantities in the soil, seems to have caused these floods. It is very interesting to note that exactly the same phenomenon has been occurring during the last fifteen years as a result of extensive timber cutting in the mountains of the Carolinas. The flood of 1908 wrecked the Pacolet mill near Spartanburg, and seriously interfered with railroad traffic for several days. That of 1916 injured the Catawba Power Company's dam so seriously that cotton-mills were shut down and towns went without lights over a large extent of territory in these states.

It would be natural to expect the population of the upper country to be anything but refined and finished. However, Bartram found cattle raisers "to be civil and courteous, and though educated as it were in the woods, no strangers to sensibility, and those moral virtues which grace and ornament the most approved and admired characters in civil society".<sup>64</sup> Michaux made some observations on the in-

<sup>62</sup> Drayton, *View of S. C.*, p. 104.

<sup>63</sup> Porcher, *The Santee Canal*, p. 6.

<sup>64</sup> Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, etc.* (Philadelphia, 1791), p. 310.

habitants of the piedmont which are of much significance. He found eight-tenths of them "as well provided as those of Tennessee and Kentucky", living in rude cabins and amid frontier surroundings. But he went on to say that

Nevertheless there are many among them whose moral characters are perhaps not so pure as those of the inhabitants of the west: they are probably spoiled by an intercourse with the Scotch and Irish, who come annually, in great numbers, to settle in this country, and bring with them some of the defects and vices, which are the usual consequences of an extensive population. The majority of these new comers pass into the upper country, where they are bound, for one or two years, to work for the persons who pay the captain of the vessel for their passage.<sup>65</sup>

A discussion of the up country would be incomplete without mention of the methods of transportation. Wagons and sledges were in chief use, "the first, for transporting heavy articles to a distance; and the last for drawing wood, rails, and small timber, about a settlement". The wagons had narrow wheels, were drawn by four or six horses, and could carry loads of from two to three tons. The greater part of the upper country produce was brought to market in these vehicles, "and fifteen or twenty of them are often seen, following each other in the same track". Consequently the roads were usually cut into deep ruts.<sup>66</sup>

Michaux also gives an interesting account of upper country commerce and wagons as follows:

The commercial dealings of the upper Carolinas and Georgia are mostly carried on with Charlestown, which is very little farther from them than Wilmington and Savannah. They give it the preference, because commerce is brisker there, and they find a readier sale for their commodities. The articles principally carried there are short cotton, tobacco, smoked hams, salted butter, wax, deer's and bear's skins, and cattle. They take in return large iron articles, tea, coffee, raw sugar, coarse woollen cloths, and some fine linens, but no iron in bars, the upper country abounding in mines of this metal, and those which are worked being sufficient for the wants of the inhabitants. They also bring salt from the sea-ports, for there are no salt works in any part of the Atlantic states. These goods are conveyed in large waggons with four wheels, drawn by four or six horses, which travel twenty or four-and-twenty miles a day, and stop every night in the woods. The price of carriage is about four francs (three shillings and four pence) per quintal, for every hundred miles.<sup>67</sup>

Another somewhat similar description adds: "The waggoners are familiarly called *crackers* (from the smacking of their whips, I sup-

<sup>65</sup> Michaux, *Travels*, p. 339.

<sup>66</sup> Drayton, *View of S. C.*, p. 141.

<sup>67</sup> Michaux, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

pose). They are said to be often very rude and insolent to strangers, and people of the towns, whom they meet on the road, particularly if they happen to be genteel persons."<sup>68</sup>

The great road running out from Charleston by Dorchester, and in a northwesterly direction to Orangeburg, and branching out to Columbia and other points in the middle and upper country, was then the highway of this wagon transportation, which was such an important feature of up-country life and which brought so much business to Charleston, until the days of steamboats and of railroads.

There must have been a crudeness, a freshness, an isolation, and an independence about the up-country life. Only long journeys by river boat, by horse, or by wagon, brought people into contact with the outside world. Their gaze was turned westward towards the mountains, and they had little in common with the low-country people, or with the inhabitants of Charleston. There was no Spartan ideal of the state accepted and upheld by the piedmont any more than by the tidewater. Nothing conveys to us the impression that South Carolina supported the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 vigorously, or that she ratified the Constitution with more determination to uphold state sovereignty than the other states. Thus Professor Schaper seems to me to have misinterpreted her ideals in his "Sectionalism in South Carolina". The remarkable position which she took from 1825 on, when her leaders more and more actively agitated for states' rights and sounded the trumpet call to arms, was the result of nineteenth-century social and economic developments involved in the spread of cotton culture. These traced their roots back to the close of the eighteenth century and to the influence of the cotton-gin, but to nothing that grew out of the colonial and Revolutionary periods. If cotton growing and slavery had not spread to the upper country, it might well have remained in its raw frontier state of development for many years to come, even after the day of the railroad and the steamboat. In such a case, whatever might have been the aspirations of the rice-coast region, South Carolina would never as a state have followed the fateful and fatal path which led to the War for Southern Independence.

D. HUGER BACOT.

<sup>68</sup> John Lambert, *Travels*, III. 71.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### A "PURE HISTORY LAW"

THE following statute, passed by the legislature of Wisconsin in its recent session, merits exhibition in the pages of an historical journal, not only on account of the grave considerations which it raises in connection with present-day teaching, but also as a curiosity, to be preserved for readers in future years, who may examine it with the same interest with which, in museums of domestic antiquities, we look at old tin lanterns and candle-moulds, wondering at the quaint inadequate means of illumination with which our predecessors contented themselves.

*Chapter 21, Laws of 1923. An Act to create section 40.36 of the statutes, relating to text-books used in the public schools.*

The people of the state of Wisconsin, represented in senate and assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. A new section is added to the statutes to be numbered and to read: 40.36. (1) No history or other text-book shall be adopted for use or be used in any district school, city school, vocational school, or high school which falsifies the facts regarding the war of independence, or the war of 1812, or which defames our nation's founders or misrepresents the ideals and causes for which they struggled and sacrificed, or which contains propaganda favorable to any foreign government.

(2) Upon complaint of any five citizens filed with the state superintendent of public instruction that any history or other text-book which is being used in any district school, city school, vocational or high school contains any matter prohibited by subsection (1) of this section, the state superintendent shall fix a time for a public hearing upon such complaint, which shall be not more than thirty days from the date of filing said complaint, and shall be conducted either by the state superintendent or the assistant state superintendent, or by one of the state inspectors of schools, to be designated by the state superintendent, and which hearing shall be held at the county seat of the county where the complainants reside. Notice of such hearing shall be given at least ten days prior to the date thereof through the public press and by registered mail to the complainants, the school board interested, and to the publishers of such text-book.

(3) Within ten days after such hearing the state superintendent shall make a finding upon such complaint. If he finds that any text-book contains matter prohibited in subsection (1) of this section, he shall make note of such finding in the list of text-books which he is required by paragraph (b) of subsection (1) of section 40.35 annually to publish and to transmit to all county and city superintendents. No such text-book shall thereafter be placed on the list of text-books which may be adopted, sold, or exchanged in this state.

(4) Every school board, board of education, board of vocational education, or county board of education which has control over the text-books used in any district school, city school, vocational school, or high school, shall cause any text-book which the state superintendent has found contains matter prohibited in subsection (1) of this section to be withdrawn from use in such school prior to the opening of the school year following the publication of such finding of the state superintendent. No state aid under the provisions of sections 20.25, 20.26, 20.27, 20.28, 20.29, 20.33, and 20.335 of the statutes shall be paid for the support of any district school, city school, vocational school, or high school during any year in which any such text-book is used in such school after the finding of the state superintendent.

Section 2. This act shall take effect upon passage and publication.

Literally construed and intelligently and justly executed, the law is harmless. Of the many excellent text-books of American history now prevailing in use, none really falsifies the facts regarding our wars, or defames the founders of our nation, or misrepresents their ideals, or contains what can rightly be termed propaganda favorable to any foreign government. But we all know what is meant. No one can miss the significance of the fact that, under this law, you can say what you please about the war with Mexico or the war with Spain, but must not "falsify the facts" (*i.e.*, modify the sacred one-sided tradition) regarding the two wars with Great Britain. Truly, "the hand of Joab is in all this".

Some of us are old enough to remember the school histories in use forty and fifty years ago, lifeless compilations mostly made by hack writers who could "do" a chemistry one year and a history—any history—the next. For twenty-five or thirty years past, the schools have been replacing these with good books, made by first-rate historical scholars. An inevitable part of this process of improvement has been an increasing ability and desire to see both sides, in ancient controversies. This is well seen to be a gain when the question is of Athenian and Spartan, Roman and Carthaginian, Guelph and Ghibelline, Protestant and Catholic, Royalist and Parliamentary, Union and Confederate, and we scoff at any English, French, and German text-books that preach chauvinism. Why is such improvement of eyesight not a gain, but a punishable offense, in the case of two historical controversies alone, the Revolutionary contest and the War of 1812? It is surely disquieting, if not discouraging, to witness these efforts, in Wisconsin and in other states too, to put back the clock by substituting, for the deliberate judgment of first-rate scholars, the prejudices of the uninformed, of those whose notions of American history have never advanced beyond the point at which they or their fathers were left, in the eighth grade, by the stale text-books of an earlier time.

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For, consider the procedure which the statute provides. Picture the scene at the county court-house. On the one side the five complaining citizens (the statute assumes them to be all of the same county), eager to protect their cherished offspring from the danger of learning any facts or thoughts unfamiliar to their parents, and armed with clippings from the Hearst newspapers and other authoritative texts. On the other side, the publisher's agent, reluctant to sacrifice the poor author, but willing to make "reasonable concessions" and nowise bigoted in matters of history. As judge, a school inspector, who very likely "had History 1" when in college. What a method for establishing historical truth! *Non talibus armis, nec defensoribus istis!*

The whole movement, a natural part of the nationalistic reaction from the high enthusiasms of 1918, deserves the serious attention of those who care for historical truth and know something of how it is ascertained and preserved. Such men and women should regard it as a duty to attend these local inquisitions into historical text-books, now so frequently held before various school-boards, and to lift up a voice in behalf of common sense, rational patriotism, and fair-minded training of young Americans for citizenship of the United States and of the world.

J. F. J.

### ON THE RELATION OF THE SCHOOLS TO MILITARY HISTORY

UPON offer by Colonel O. L. Spaulding, and for its intrinsic value and interest, we lay before our readers the following letter addressed by him to Professor W. E. Lingelbach, one of the two representatives of the American Historical Association in the recently formed Joint Commission on the Presentation of the Social Studies. To it we append a letter of comment by General Pershing.

Army War College, WASHINGTON,  
March 20, 1923.

Professor William E. Lingelbach,  
University of Pennsylvania,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

*My dear Professor Lingelbach:*

I am in receipt of a circular recently issued by the Joint Commission on the Presentation of the Social Studies, asking for suggestions. Not being in touch with school work, I can hardly offer anything of value to the Joint Commission as a whole; but as representing the Military History Committee of the American Historical Association I may possibly have some suggestions for the historical members of that Commission.

The purpose of the social studies, to quote the circular, is to give an appreciation of "how people have lived and do live together . . . ; to the end that our youth may develop such abilities, inclinations, and ideals as may qualify them to take an intelligent and effective part in an evolving society".

The distinctive contribution of history to these studies is to "extend backward the memory of living men and give them a sense of perspective to aid them in forming their judgments on contemporary affairs".

History itself, as a science, has its many specialties—political, economic, military, and what not. Evidently, to make such a contribution as is contemplated, there must be a synthesis of all these. If any element is overemphasized, or any neglected, the "memory extended backward" is distorted, and ceases to be a trustworthy guide. Whoever tries to make the synthesis must know all his elements; it is the business of the specialists to bring them to his attention. He must not allow his own specialty—for undoubtedly, if he is a truly interested student of history, he has one—to obscure any other; again it is the business of the specialists to bring any such error to his attention. Conversely, the specialists, in performing their functions, must understand the purpose and scope of the synthesis, and not try to exercise undue influence upon the maker of it.

The Military History Committee would respectfully offer its co-operation, as representing one group of the specialists. It is prepared to make definite and practical suggestions; but before proceeding to formulate them it seems necessary to agree upon a point of view.

Military history deals with war; it is therefore unpopular, for war is not uncommonly regarded as a loathsome disease of the body politic. This may or may not be an accurate metaphor—certainly there is some reason for using it. But here we may note a strange phenomenon.

When we meet a literal disease of the physical body, we recognize that, since it exists, it has a reason for existence, and we at once set the specialists to work to study it in every imaginable way. We use their results whether we like them or not. Only by full and complete knowledge of the disease can we hope to find a cure. The man who considers war as a disease of the body politic, then, should be the first to insist upon its conscientious study. Imperfect or distorted knowledge of it should be more objectionable to him than to any one else. But as a rule we do not find it so.

We daily see attacks upon war, as if war were an entity capable of isolation. We see tabulations of its enormous cost, in blood and in gold. But we rarely see even an effort to analyze these tables; to understand the nature of war; to audit the accounts, and see to whom or to what each item of the staggering total is chargeable.

To change the metaphor, it is not imaginable that a business man, finding one department of his business more costly than all the rest together, should fail to study that department minutely and dispassionately. He will lay aside for the moment any preconceived ideas, and search for facts—for "it is a condition, not a theory", that confronts him. When he has all the facts he can consider whether and how he may cut costs.

In the nation's life, war is not a thing apart. It is an instrument, one among many.



To gain its ends a nation, like an individual, uses argument and by successive compromises reduces the dispute to its lowest terms. If one of the parties to the argument, rightly or wrongly, finally refuses to accept the other's views, that other must either admit defeat or use force. This use of force may be justified or not; but whether or not it be justified, it is a mere continuation of the argument.

A school history is presumably for the elementary training of voters. It is not and must not be a specialized history—economic, military, or anything else. War being an inseparable part of the nation's past it should be presented in precisely the same impartial and scientific manner as any other part. Its technical details should be omitted, but its fundamentals must appear.

Being the supreme manifestation of the nation's physical strength, the method in which that strength is put forth must be considered. Being the continuation of an argument, the transition must be shown. Being no mere act of passion, but a deliberate effort to gain an end, its conduct is intellectual; its events have a logical reason and sequence, which must be brought out. Having a purpose, its results must appear.

The voter must some time decide whether or not he favors a specific demand upon some foreign power. His teacher is criminal, if that voter has not been given fairly to see how such demands may lead to war; to understand the nature, the cost, and the possible consequences of war, that he may intelligently decide whether he is ready to back his demand with war if necessary; and to know something of how war is conducted, that he may judge of the conduct of his representatives, civil and military. He should not be—as he is—in the position of meeting each situation as a novel one, adopting the first solution that presents itself, and never finding out whether or not it was the best one. If he knows how to find it, there is generally a parallel case in the past.

This attitude is not taken in the ordinary school text-book. In fact, no text-book is known to the Military History Committee which does take it. It would seem that everyone should be interested in having it taken—the most pronounced pacifist or the most pronounced militarist, if indeed these glibly used general terms have any clearly definable meaning. The Military History Committee considers it to be its privilege and duty to offer its assistance to that end.

The Committee does not mean to imply that its specialty is the only one which suffers from neglect. Undoubtedly other committees might find similar conditions. If so, these committees also should come forward. And this Committee, in offering assistance, wishes voluntarily to subject itself to the limitation above formulated for the action of specialists. It will faithfully and conscientiously seek to "understand the purpose and scope of the synthesis, and not try to exercise undue influence".

Comment on the above discussion is requested, either in writing, or, preferably, in personal conferences.

Very respectfully,

OLIVER L. SPAULDING, JR.,  
Colonel, Field Artillery,  
Chief, Historical Section, A.W.C.,  
Acting Chairman, Military History Committee,  
American Historical Association.

GENERAL OF THE ARMIES  
WASHINGTON

March 29th, 1923.

Colonel Oliver L. Spaulding, jr.:

*My dear Colonel Spaulding:*

A copy of your letter of March 20th to Professor Lingelbach, suggesting the contribution by the Military History Committee of the American Historical Association, on the Presentation of the proposed Social Studies, was brought to my attention by my Aide-de-Camp. I am very glad to find that you are endeavoring to bring about proper methods of presenting the military aspects of our history, to the end that correct conclusions may be drawn from the lessons of the past by the men and women who decide the policies of this country through their vote at the polls.

Since the birth of the nation we have been engaged in a series of identical cycles which find us on the outbreak of every war in a disgraceful state of unpreparedness, resulting in the untold waste of money and human lives. An accurate knowledge of the causes, social, economic, and military, leading to these wars, would increase the probability of our being able to avoid their repetition; and a comprehension of the causes leading to the unnecessary wastefulness in the conduct of our wars, would certainly lead to its avoidance in the future. I am firmly convinced that most of our troubles of this nature have their foundation in the inaccuracies and inadequacies of our school histories. Until this is corrected, neither those who exercise the right of suffrage nor their representatives in Congress will ever take the necessary corrective measures and maintain a policy which will insure the prestige and dignity of our country and lessen the possibility of war in the future.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN J. PERSHING.

## DOCUMENTS

*Washington and the Potomac: Manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society, [1754] 1769-1796. II.*

X. JAMES CRAIK TO WASHINGTON.<sup>1</sup>

I have thought it might be more satisfactory to leave you the different Accounts I received respecting the Communication between the waters of the Yohiogany and the North Branch of Potowmack, that you might from a view of the whole Collect an opinion for yourself. it appears to me that the land Carriage from the Forks of Yohiogany to Cumberland which from a variety of accounts will not be more than thirty miles is to be preferred to Sixty miles of difficult Navigation up the little Crossing, and twenty miles land Carriage afterwards, which is the distance from the little crossing on the Turkey foot Road to Cumberland. If the Communication is to be carried on by the little Crossing, the Turkey Foot Road is to be preferred to Braddocks old Road, as it is infinitely better and above two miles shorter. Indeed I found the whole Turkey foot Road across the mountains much better and nearer than Braddocks Road, that if there were good entertainment no one could hesitate in the choice.

I delivered your letter to Colo. Stenson, who informed me he had a few days before engaged his mare to Captn. Tauncyhin but offered me a horse Colt far above its value. He says he expects to be at Alexandria this month when he will endeavour to let you have some money. Capt. Bell will also be down and has promised to go and view the Falls of Yohiogany and report to you particularly on them. On my arrival at Colo. Warner Washingtons I wrote to your Brother Charles who next day called on Mr. Gaunt when he informed him that he was still in the mind of purchasing the Land and requested that you would leave your terms in writing and that if they were not very high he would take the land upon your word he said he knew what you gave for it. As you altered your Rout down I desired Bushrod to request him to come down to you as soon as possible, which was his first intention. I have the Honour to be with the utmost Respect and affect'n.

Your Excel<sup>cys</sup>

Most obed<sup>t</sup> hum<sup>l</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

JAS. CRAIK.

MOUNT VERNON

Oct 2d. 1784

<sup>1</sup> Part of this letter appears in Stewart's report, p. 31, but as the second paragraph was not printed, and as it contains items of interest bearing on the navigation of the Potomac, it has seemed best to print the entire letter. Dr. James Craik was Washington's old friend and family physician who accompanied him on his trip to the West in 1784. Washington took a different route on the return trip and was to have met Dr. Craik at Warner Washington's. Changing his plans, however, Washington sent word to Dr. Craik to proceed to Mt. Vernon. This letter must have been written immediately on Dr. Craik's return to Mt. Vernon and before Washington had arrived. For an account of the life of James Craik see *Dinwiddie Papers*, I. 115 note.

P-S. I have recd of Mr Lund Washington Twelve Pounds Seven shillings and sixpence being the Expences down. the General account of Expences must be deferred untill I have the pleasure of seeing you.

[*Endorsement:*] Information obtained by Doct'r Craik of the Communication between Wills C<sup>k</sup> and Yohiogany

His Excellency

General Washington

XI. NORMAND BRUCE TO WASHINGTON.

Sir

There being many reasons to believe that our Specie has been much lessened not only during the War but even since the Peace—It is not however to be doubted, but that much has been also imported during these periods, but it cannot bear any proportion to Exports. Not only the difference of Exchange, which has uniformly since the Peace, been so far above Par, but, the large Exportations of Specie which still continues, seems to demonstrate the Ballance to be much against us, and in favour of all the Manufacturing Countrys with which we Trade. But notwithstanding these reasons as well as the many great and obvious inconveniences evidently arising from the scarcity of a Circulating Medium amongst us, it is urged by many that our Complaints on this head are imaginary, maintaining that there is more specie amongst us at Present, than ever there was at any one Period before. The principle argument aduced in support of this opinion is, it seems, the liberal Prices given for our Commodities, which is by no means conclusive—it may be owing to very different Causes a scarcity of Produce here, but most probably a brisk demand and high Prices at the Market of Consumption. However admitting that we have as much specie as before the War, yet when we consider the large quantity of Paper then in Circulation, but now so much wanted, Our present distress will in a great measure be accounted for. Nor is it probable, that the worst is over. The insignificance of our Trade at the time of calling our late large emissions of Paper out of circulation, and for a considerable time after, the Indulgence of paying Taxes in produce, and above all the Laws screening Debtors from Suits, hath hitherto prevented many bad consequences which yet may be dreaded. In short Sir it must appear evident, to every impartial enquirer, particularly from the embarrassed situation of the People, and the uncultivated state of our Lands, without the means of relief usual in all other trading Countrys as well as heretofore in this, that an addition to our Medium, would not only be of general benefite by promoting Industry but so Critical seems our situation, that without some speedy and adequate remedy, we must infallibly be deprived of many of those essential benefits we had reason to expect from a Peace so very favourable. It therefore certainly becomes an enquiry of the utmost consequence to the Trade and Cultivation of these States, how far the Evil may admit of a speedy and effectual cure.

As it seems impracticable under our present circumstances to procure specie either by Loan or other ways, adequate to our Exigences and increasing Business, Paper seems the only resource left us—I am well aware of the strong prejudices imbibed by many against a Paper medium, and during the continuance of the War there might be Reason, but since

the Peace we surely have it more in our Power than ever to Emit it on solid and sufficient funds, and having previous to the Revolution experienced (and most other Civilized Nations still experience) very Salutary Effects flowing from a Prudent use of it, and surely because we may have been nearly Phisicked to death by the unskilfull application of a Medicine, it by no means follows that we should entirely reject it, when convinced that a Moderate Portion thereof, judiciously administer'd, is the only remedy left us for our disorder. The Benefits arising to any State more particularly to such, circumstanced as we are, uncultivated and unimproved, from Public Emissions are apparent, and past Experience proves the great advantages flowing therefrom to the Public—a part may be Circulated in discharging Internal Debts, whilst the remainder is lent out in small sums to Individuals able to procure Security for the repayment thereof, the annual Interest of which, would not only add to the Public Revenue, but the Sums so lent would give Scope to Industry and Agriculture, the best and surest means of keeping the little specie we have or may hereafter get amongst us, for thereby our Exports would be increased and our Coin more augmented, and a Ballance finally obtained against those Nations who at present have it against us. For these obvious reasons Public Emissions ought to be preferred by every well wisher of his Country. But the influence which some men seems to possess in our Councils, who pretending a Dread of they know not what, have deprived the Public of this benefite and Individuals of the only seeming rational means of assistance, without it is Emetted on such terms as must Evidently check its Circulation and give the Creditors a very unfair advantage over their Debtors—As therefore we have but little hopes left of seeing Public Emissions the following proposition for Circulating a very small Sum on Private Security, and for Establishing a Bank is submitted to your private consideration wether it may admit of such amendment or additions as to be rendered practicable and of Service to the Community

Proposal, That provided the Legislatures of Virginia and Maryland will Emit the Sum of 500,000 Dollars, which they will grant upon Loan to the Subscribers or other ways Vest them with the Priviledge of Emitting and of Circulating such a Sum for and during the term of Ten years from the date of the Grant or Emission—In consideration whereof they will engage to expend the Sum of                      Dollars within the Space of                      Years from the date of such Grant towards rendering Potowmack River Navigable from Tide Water, towards its Source, or as far up, as to the nearest convenient Landing for the Western Waters.

That the said Sum of 500,000 dollars shall be subscribed for and divided into (either 125 or 250) Shares (which will make each share amount to \$1000 or 2000 dollars) and that no Subscription shall be received for more than                      Shares nor for less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  Share.

That every Subscriber shall be entitled to a Loan of one half of the Sum subscribed by him, upon giving Bond with Sufficient Security for the repayment thereof with Interest Annually.

That the other Moiety or Residue of the Money excepting a Sum not exceeding                      Dollars shall be lent out upon Satisfactory Security in Sums not exceeding                      Dollars to any one Person at the Annual Interest of 5 pr Ct.

That one half of the Amount of the Proposed Emissions shall be redeemed and paid off in the Year 1799 and the other Moiety in the year

following; and for the certain and effectual redemption whereof the Subscriber, etc. to be liable.

That the Subscribers etc. shall be incorporated by the Name of the Potowmack Company with such other further necessary Priviledges as the respective Legislatures may judge proper for their encouragement and for the effectual securing the repayment of Money lent by them.

That the Proprietors shall meet on the       day of       next and on the same day annually at Alexandria there to Elect by Ballot a Governour Directors       Treasurer and Secretary.

That the Governour with a Majority of Directors shall meet Quarterly and be empowered to make such further Appointments as may be found necessary, make Contracts, fix the Price of Wages, Draw on the Treasurer and give such directions from time to time as may be necessary for executing with Diligence and frugality, the intended Navigation in a Manner, which shall be deemed of the greatest Public Utility.

The Treasurer shall give approved Security for a faithfull discharge of Trust reposed in him.

A fair Record shall be kept of all proceedings by the Secretary who shall regularly attend the Annual meetings of the Proprietors and at All meetings of the Governour and Directors.

Every Subscriber or Subscribers of each share shall only have a Vote in the Proceedings and may Vote by Proxy Authorized under Hand and Seal and lodged with the Secretary Previous to Voting.

And to Establish a fund upon which to Circulate Notes payable on demand, Similar to Bond Notes, That every Subscriber do pay unto the       in Gold or Silver or in Good Bills of Exchange (payable in Europe) on or before the first day of       next a Sum equal to 1/10 of their Subscriptions, the like Sum at the expiration of       Months from that time, and so on untill half the Amount of the Subscriptions are paid in.

That the Governour and Directors shall be empowered to receive new Subscriptions towards increasing the Capital Stock on such terms as they may judge Proper.

That Notes shall be Emetted from time to time, not to exceed the Proportion of       Dollars for one Received, as the Payments are made.

That Cash Accounts shall be opened by which every Person upon giving approved Security shall be advanced Cash to a certain Extent, at such times and in such Proportions as he may order, for which pr Ct. is to be charged from the time the Money is advanced—He also having the liberty of returning such Sums (not less however than       Dollars at a time) as it may suit him, on which the like Interest will be allowed whilst in Bank.

A supposed State agreeable to the above out Lines

|  | Virg'a  | Curr'cy     |
|--|---------|-------------|
| Sum Proposed to [ ? ] 500,000 Dollars at 6/                      |         | £ 150,000   |
| 10 Years Interest at 5 pr Ct on £ 150,000 is                     |         | £ 75,000    |
| To be expended on Potowmack supposed                             | £ 40000 |             |
| 10 Years Salery to Secratary Treasurer                           | 1500    |             |
| Governour, Directors, Expenses etc. on Business for 10 years—say | 7500    |             |
| Clerks Overseers etc. Wages for 10 years                         | 7500    | 56500       |
| By this state there remains a Ballance of                        |         | £ 18500 out |

of which however is to be deducted loss by bad debtage

It seems unnecessary to enter into any further Comment on the Benefits arising from the Circulation even of this small Sum—doubtless many Industrious Persons might therefrom be furnished with the means of Prosecuting their Improvements and shall only observe that the Sum being so Small in Comparison to the Trade of Potowmack even in its present State and the number of People who are closely interested in the success of this Beneficial Undertaking, which can never be executed upon more advantageous terms to themselves and Posterity it is but reasonable to Presume that notwithstanding our Prejudices against Paper, there can be no doubt but that this Money will Circulate freely.

As the Nature of Banking may not have come under your Consideration, I thought that a few observations on that Subject might not be construed as an intrusion on Your Patience but, at Present I am unavoidably called off, and altho after this delay it seems strangely ridiculous to offer an excuse for the hurry and incorrectness with which this is wrote yet such has been my case that this is the first day of rest I have enjoy'd not having been two days in a Place since I had the pleasure of seeing you.<sup>2</sup> I trust that I shall not from the freedom which I have taken in communicating my Sentiments incur your Censure as a Projector. The Profit which the Public might reap from the Circulation of Paper is apparently considerable. I have therefore ever thought that the States only ought to possess these Advantages and enjoy the Monopoly. But as there is reason to fear that the Public Benefite may be overlooked amidst that increasing eagerness with which Individuals amongst us seems to prosecute their Particular Interests I have therefore been induced to trouble you, hoping that as the Sum here intended to be Circulated is so trifling and the services proposed to be rendered of such Public Advantage and Utility that this Money would be received with avidity and Circulated freely in which case it might also prove a means of effacing our Prejudices against Paper and pave the way for future Emission. Should you however Sir deem the proposals inconsistent I have inclosed the outlines of another mode of Executing this important Business upon the same principles,<sup>3</sup> that Works of this kind are most commonly undertaken and executed. I remain, most Worthy Sir with perfect Respect and Esteem Your very Obed't Serv.

NORMD. BRUCE.

WASHINGTON COUNTY)

13 Novembr 1784 )

General Washington

Mount Vernon

[Endorsement:] From Norman Bruce, 13 Nov 1784

XII. ENCLOSURE IN NORMAND BRUCE'S LETTER.

Proposals of opening the Navigation of Potowmack for which purpose the Sum of 150,000 dollars shall be subscribed and divided into Seventy five Shares of 2000 dollars each.

<sup>2</sup>An interview with Colonel Normand Bruce is mentioned in Washington's diary, Sept. 6, 1784. He was at Bath at this time. *Washington and the West*, pp. 35, 36.

<sup>3</sup>The enclosure is the next document.



No Subscription shall be taken for more than                      Shares nor less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a Share.

The Subscribers to be incorporated by Acts of the Virg'a and Maryl'd Legislatures by name of the Potowmack Company with an Exclusive right to them, their Heirs, assigns etc. to all the Water they may think proper to collect in their Canals and the Lands through which the same may run shall be condemned for the use and that they shall have power to Levy on all Boats Rafts etc. Passing thru their Cannals a Toll not exceeding                      pr Ton.

The Proprietors shall meet on the                      Day of                      next                      at Alexandria and on the same day Annually and then Elect by a Majority of Votes a Governour and                      Directors a Treasurer Secretary for the year.

The Governour with a Majority of Directors shall have Power to make Contracts fix the price of Wages and Employ such Persons to direct and Oversee the Work as they shall find necessary and Draw on the Treasurer for Money.

The Treasurer shall give Security for discharge of Trust.

The Company to be impowred by the Legislature of the Two States to Emit and Circulate a Sum not exceeding Sixty thousand Dollars which shall pass and be received in payment of Taxes and Public dues until the year                      when the sum shall be called in and paid off by the Compy.

Each Subscriber shall pay into the Hands of the Treasurer such parts of his share and at such times as the Governour and Directors shall order.

The Holder or Holders of each share shall only have a Vote in the Proceedings and May Vote by Proxy Authorized under the Hand and Seal and Lodged with the Secretary Previous to receiving such Votes.

The Secretary shall attend the Meetings of the Proprietors and of the Governour and Directors and keep a fair Record of all their Proceedings and Lay the Same before the meetings of the Proprietors.

P. S. The above Estimate is made upon a supposition that 150,000 dolls. is component for the work. It exceeds the Sum mentioned in the Returns of C. Beatty and myself to the assembly of this State;<sup>4</sup> but the manner in which we were obliged to make the Survey rendered much of the Value of the Business to be done Guess Work.

#### XIII. WASHINGTON'S COMMENTS ON THE ACTS OF 1784.<sup>5</sup>

1. Norfolk. 2. Why so short.
3. Why not meet at the Expiration of the term the Books are kept open—the Subsr. then being all together can determine with less of time what is proper done under present Circumstances.

<sup>4</sup> In the spring of 1783 Bruce and Beatty had been appointed by the Maryland Assembly commissioners to examine the Potomac River and make an estimate of the cost of making it navigable. In view of the fact that their report is not to be found, this document is of particular value. See *The Potomac Route to the West*, p. 124.

<sup>5</sup> These observations are found on the back of the sheet bearing Ballendine's rates of 1772; see this *Review*, XXVIII. 518. They are in Washington's handwriting and are obviously his comments on the draft of the acts for opening the

4. not clearly understood—all subscriptions should be by shares is the [torn].
5. can this be amended.
6. Number too disproportionate to the aggregate especially as many votes may happen to be in the same person.
7. Little and lower falls unnecessary. A place below the confluence of the No. and So. Branch substituted in place of the lower falls.
8. Alter the rates of the tolls.
9. Why that exemption when the returns for the produce of the Ohio w'ch may go down the Mississippi may go back in the empty Boats.
10. with a reasonable space, say 50 feet on each side (if necessary).
11. This clause gives great discontent, as it is construed to make the Company insurers and answerable for all damages such works may sustain.
12. A consequent alteration, if (7) is made.
13. Sufficient Locks—if they shall be found necessary.

\* And that may use force to prevent their passing spot if it is attempted without. Would it be nugatory to insert a clause to empower the corporation to lower the Falls if they shall deem it necessary without an Act of Assembly,—or what follows may answer  
\* or any less Tons at their discretion.

[Endorsement:] Obs'ns on the Acts for opening the Navigation of Potomac and James Rivers. 1784.

[It was in the fall of 1784, apparently, that the map of the Potomac region published in *House Report* no. 228, 19th Congress, 1st session, opposite page 24, was sketched. The original differs slightly from the reproduction. It was *not* drawn by Washington as Stewart says, but by Bruce. The endorsement on the back in Washington's writing reads, "Sketch of the Country between the Waters of Potomack and those of Yohiogany and Monongalia by Colo. Norm'd Bruce". The accuracy of the sketch may be judged by Washington's reference in his diary, September 6, 1784: "I therefore endeavoured to prevail upon Colo. Bruce to explore the Country from the North Branch of Potomack at McCulloughs path, or the highest practicable Navigation on it, to the nearest Waters of Yohiogany—thence to Sandy Creek and down that to its junction with the Cheat River—laying the whole down by actual surveys, and exact measurement; which he has promised to do, if he can accomplish it." (*Washington and the West*, p. 36.)

Minor changes in the printed map may be mentioned. McCullochs (not *gh's*) Road should be carried all the way from Patersons (not *Patinous*) Creek to join the line at *A*, and beyond Patersons Creek in the other direction. That is, the dotted line *A* to *B* (there two rivers. By following the text of the two acts in Hening, vol. XI., it is possible to determine how many of his suggestions were embodied in the final form.

are only the smaller *A* and *B* in the original) is merely the end of McCullochs Road. Corresponding to the 40 near *A* is a figure 20 just below the junction of New Creek and Potomac. The legend for *B* should read *Archies*, not *Archer's Spring*. On the original the words, "Road or Portage", denoting the dotted line from Cumberland to Turkey Foot, are not to be found. The *Great Yough* is the *Great Y* on the manuscript map.]

XIV. THOMAS BLACKBURN TO WASHINGTON.<sup>6</sup>

RIPPON LODGE Decr. 20th 1784.

Dear Sir:

Your Favor of Yesterday's Date came to Hand this Morning.

I intended to have done myself the Honor to have waited on You Today, to confer with You on the Subject of the Dispatches I received by Yesterday's Express; but the Intervention of your Letter, and the Badness of the Weather, will excuse me.

I am sorry to inform You, that it is not in my power to attend the Meeting of the Commrs. on the Day You mention, being engaged, as an Administrator, in the Sale of the late revd. James Scott's personal Estate, in a few Days after; which I must of Necessity attend.

As I am informed that Genl. Gates is with You, and can have no Doubt of his Attendance on this Business; I am happy to think it will not be retarded by my Inability to attend.

I am, most respectfully,

Dr Sir:

Yr. most obt. hble. Serv't

T. BLACKBURN.

General Washington.

[Endorsement:] From Colo. T. Blackburn, 10 Decr. 1784.

[The next document according to date is that printed in full in *The Potomac Route to the West*, pp. 136-139. The endorsement in Washington's hand reads: "Conference of the Commission for opening the Potomack, Annapolis 21st Decr 1784 and making a Road from the waters of the Potomac to those of Monongalia."

A letter from Samuel Hanway, dated Old Town, January 26, 1785, follows next in order, but as it is printed entire in Stewart's report, p. 32, it is not included here. The endorsement reads: "From Capt'n Sam'l Hanway, 26th Jan. 1785, respecting the communication between the Western Waters and the Potomac."]

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Blackburn had been appointed by Virginia, along with Washington and Gates, a delegate to the Maryland-Virginia meeting held at Annapolis on Dec. 22, 1784. General Mason states (Stewart's *Report*, p. 25) that Blackburn did not attend "on account of indisposition"; and Pickell (*A New Chapter in the Early Life of Washington*, p. 43) described the cause as "serious indisposition". Both would seem to be in error according to this letter. It will be noted that Washington's endorsement does not give the correct date. For the record of the meeting, see *The Potomac Route to the West*, pp. 136-139.

XV. GEORGE GILPIN TO WASHINGTON.<sup>7</sup>*D Sir*

on sunday the 3d of this month I went within one mile of the Seneca falls it then rain'd very fast which prevented me from going nearer; on monday the 4th I went to Mr. Gideon Moss's who lives the nearest to the Falls of any person on the virginia Side, and who issued provisions to the hands that workd under Johnston and Clapham last year. I then crossed over the river just above the falls to the maryland side and went down to where the huts was in which the people lived last fall and then to a Mr. Goldsbroughs at whose house Johnston and Clapham lodged When they attended the works. I found no person at any of these places who wanted to engage immediately. one person who had been at Mr. Goldsbroughs on the 1st day of the month by mistake went away. he wanted work and said he understood blowing rocks. Mr. Moss and others informed me that they thought hands might be procured after harvest but they were all employed in gathering their Grain and Hay; I left a short advertizment at these places and some others. I then view'd the falls on both sides and then went to Shenandoah. I arrived at harper's ferry on the 5th in the evening.

on the 6th it was near 12 oclock before I could procure an Express to Bath. a few labourers Came but they did not want to enter to work then except one old dutchman who Came very drunk. I informed them of the 8th day of august as the day on which their wages would begin if they appeard and would go to work. from what I Could gather from a number of gentlemen that assembled there that labourers may be had I believe anough for our purpose and 40/ virginia Curr'cy is about the price. the reason assignd why more did not appear was that their harvest is great and all the labourers employd. I wrote a letter to Gover'r Johnston and one to Gover'r S. Lee and sent them. I wrote a few advertizements sent one to Fredericks Town and some to other places. I viewd the falls on both sides and got what Intelligence I Could Concerning the river and then waited at Capt. Breadys till Friday evening when Mr Rumsay<sup>8</sup> Came. we had some Conversation about the navigation of

<sup>7</sup> The writer of this letter, George Gilpin, was one of the directors of the Potomac Company and a very energetic worker in its behalf. When advertising, invitations, and personal solicitation on the part of the Company had been made in a vain effort to obtain workmen for the project, Gilpin undertook the task of securing them. This letter was written on his tour of the region for that purpose. Pickell mentions Clapham's given name as James (p. 70); whereas Mrs. Bacon-Foster refers to him as Col. Josias Clapham (p. 153). The Johnston mentioned seems to be Thomas Johnson. This letter contains the only reference I have found to work on the river in the fall of 1784.

<sup>8</sup> James Rumsey, one of the most picturesque characters of the period—"Crazy Rumsey" he was called locally in Maryland and Virginia because of his invention of mechanical propulsion of boats on inland waterways. Washington had met him at Bath on his western tour, Sept. 6, 1784, and recounts in his journal: "Remained at Bath all day, and was showed the Model of a Boat constructed by the ingenious Mr. Rumsey, for ascending rapid currents by mechanism. . . . The Model, and its operation upon the water . . . not only convinced me of what I before thought next to, if not quite impracticable, but that it might be to the greatest possible utility in inland Navigation." How much Washington's vision

potomack in which he informed me that he would be down on the 14th. he gave me a letter for you which the bearer will deliver to you as also one from a Member of the Company a Colo Hunter in favor of Mr. Rumsay. I have sent a state of the falls in the river as they now appear and have taken the liberty to make a few remarks on them, if your Excellency should not have by you notes of this nature sufficient already they may be of service and if you should they can be distroyd. I thought it my duty to give you the best information I could. I am with due Esteem your Excellencys most Obt. Servt.

GEORGE GILPIN

Sunday July 10th 1785

His Excellency General Washington at Mount Vernon

[Endorsement:] Colon'l Gilpin's Letter and Observ'ns 10th July 1785.<sup>9</sup>

XVI. THOMAS JOHNSON TO WASHINGTON.

FRED'K, 4 Novem'r 1785

Sir,

The little Time we had at our last Meeting<sup>10</sup> just allowed an Opportunity to mention several Things which were left very imperfect though we seemed much in the same Opinion; amongst them Applications to the Assembly's to release the Company from a part of the depth of the Canals; as the four feet draft of water, in our Circumst's is so far from necessary that it is in some degree injurious I wish to see it in the Road of Correction and I flatter myself that an Application cannot fail—the Friends of the Company being such on the principle of public Utility they must be inimical to a wasteful Expendit. of even private Money—the Enemies to the project being such on the principle of Economy in the public Money they must be desirous of saving as much of the 5,00£ public Money as they possibly can so that we may fairly count on all the Votes for the Convention if the new proposition will not render the Navigation less useful. To lay a proper Foundation I have gone into the inclosed Calculation, No. 1.<sup>11</sup> I may have erred in my principles or Deductions, for I do not set up for Accuracy, and therefore wish it revised and set to rights if wrong. No. 2<sup>12</sup> is the Draft of a petition and No. 3 the Draft of a

and encouragement aided the inventor is not certain, but shortly after this letter was written, Rumsey was made engineer for the Potomac Company and gave his undivided attention to the navigation of the river. In 1786 he successfully propelled a boat by steam on the Potomac; in 1788 a Rumsey Society was formed in Philadelphia, Franklin being a member; and in 1792 Rumsey was in England attempting to interest capitalists in his invention. Here he died prematurely in December of that year, having successfully operated a steamboat on the Thames. *Washington and the West*, pp. 32, 125-129; *The Potomac Route to the West*, pp. 153-164.

<sup>9</sup> Corrected by Washington from 1784 to 1785.

<sup>10</sup> On Oct. 18, 1785, a two days' session of the full board of directors of the Potomac Company was held at the Great Falls. *The Potomac Route to the West*, p. 163.

<sup>11</sup> This enclosure does not appear with the other papers.

<sup>12</sup> See next document.

Bill,<sup>13</sup> as I had only my own Ideas to guide me I make no doubt but that they may be much improved in the Matter and am confident they may in the Language. the Time is too short for much Intercourse on the Subject and if they are thought sufficient for a Groundwork the only Favor I request for them or myself is that you would threat [treat] them with intire Freedom by altering as you may think best for I feel nothing of favouritism to any part. my views will be intirely answered in obtaining a Release from the useless part of the Burthen.

Since my Return Home my Thoughts have run a good deal on the Situation of the Great Falls for Locks and the Manner of constructing them and their Gates. I was puzzled about the lateral pressure of Water for the Situation seems to point out Locks of great depth but unless we can come at some Rule to know the Force of a given Body of Water we do not know the Quantity of Force or degree of Strength necessary to oppose to it or whether we have it in our power to oppose it with Success or not. I have no Books of my own nor am I in a favourable place to borrow Books on the Subject however I obtained one and have extracted No. 4<sup>14</sup> what I thought applicable. My Attempt No. 5<sup>15</sup> on this Foundation may probably be so far from accurate as to be intirely wrong for I have no learning in this Way the only Merit or rather the Excuse I can claim is the Intention. Yet I cannot but be struck with the Hints started at the Falls and hope we may accomplish a resisting Force superior to the Action of the Water. let us raise it in the Locks to what height we please and I candidly confess I feel a kind of Pride in the originality or at least uncommonness of the Gates proposed. if by a Deviation from the usual Manner we can combine Strength Dispatch and Ease in a superior degree and at a less Expense than the Europeans my Ambition will be highly gratified and I flatter myself the Occasion offers. I should either forbear giving you this Trouble or apologize for it if I did not think your desire to pick out some thing useful from the crudest Thoughts and my unreserve will make this prolixity acceptable for I much more wish to add to than take from the few of your leisure Moments.

I am sr.

Your most obed't and most hble serv't

TH. JOHNSON

[Endorsement:] From Thoms. Johnson Esqr 4th Novr. 1785.

XVII. ENCLOSURE NO. 2.

To the Honble the General Assembly's of the Commonwealth of Virginia and the State of Maryland.

The humble Petition of the president and Directors of the Potomack Company on Behalf of the said Company sheweth, That by the Acts of the said Assembly's intituled An Act for opening etc<sup>16</sup> it is made essen-

<sup>13</sup> See Hening's *Statutes*, XII. 68. or Maxcy's *Laws of Maryland*, I. 542. A draft of this act, though not in Johnson's autograph, was found among the papers.

<sup>14</sup> An extract, not here printed, from John Rowning's *A Compendious System of Natural Philosophy* (London, 1772 ed.?). I. 25.

<sup>15</sup> Not here printed.

<sup>16</sup> Act incorporating the Potomac Company, Hening, XI. 510; Maxcy, I. 488.

tial that the Canal at the Great Falls and that at the Little Falls, if the Navigation should be effected by Canals and Locks shall be made to contain four Feet depth of Water in Dry Seasons when a sufficient depth for Boats of one foot draft of Water only, is required to be made in the River.

That your Petitioners believe so great a depth in the Canals was required for the convenient and easy passage of Rafts and deep Boats which might pass in the River when it is pretty full on the presumption that there would not be an equal or indeed any considerable increase of depth in the Canal on the rise of the Water in the River a supposition which would be well founded as to the Spaces between the Locks if they were from Necessity or Convenience placed distant from each other.

That your Petitioners have examined and levelled the Ground from where the Canal must be taken out above the Great Falls to some distance below the Falls where the Navigation must be led again into the Bed of the River and find that a Cut on one Level and connected Locks will be the simplest cheapest and most convenient Way of effecting Navigation there; they may add that almost of Necessity it must be made in that Manner.

That on executing that plan at the Great Falls, as they intend, the depth will as certainly be increased in the Canals on the rise of the River as that Water will flow to it's own Level and they are under the the strongest Impressions, if a Canal and Locks should be necessary or useful at the Little Falls, that a Cut on one Level and a Waste of the whole Fall by a set of connected Locks at Tide Water will be far the best on every Account and therefore the depth of water will be increased there by the same material means as at the Great Falls.

That as in the Canal purposed to be made at the Great Falls as well, probably, as in that, if any at the Little Falls the rise of Water will unavoidably keep pace with the rise in the River when only Rafts and Boats of considerable Draft can pass, all useful purposes would be equally answered by Canals of even less than two feet depth of Water in dry Seasons as if they were made to contain four which would according to the annexed Calculations not only save one fourth part of their Expence at the least but would by so much lessen the Work and save that proportion of the Time necessary to effect it and render the Canals, when finished, in a degree more secure.

Your Petitioners therefore pray that Acts of both the Assembly's may pass whereby it may be made necessary that a Canal at each or either of the said Falls if carried on one Level and supplied by the Current of the River contain two feet only instead of four feet depth of Water as required by the said Acts or that if the Level should be broke by Locks placed apart from each other that the first Level may necessarily contain only two feet depth and the others or rest four.

And your Petn's will pray etc  
G. W. presidt.<sup>17</sup>

No. 2.

[In September, 1785, Johnson wrote to Washington: "I have amused myself with writing my ideas on the Canal and Locks in

<sup>17</sup> These initials are in Johnson's handwriting.



detail and making Calculations of the Expence. . . . I enclose them to you. my intention must be their Recommendation" (*The Potomac Route to the West*, p. 161). Among the papers discovered are two sketches, very carefully drawn, bearing figures and legends in Johnson's autograph. One represents a lock, and bears Washington's endorsement: "Sketch of Lock Gates." The other shows a proposed canal, giving distances, etc.; and four locks, presumably to be constructed at the Great Falls. No doubt these were the enclosures of which Johnson wrote.]

XVIII. WORK OF POTOMAC COMPANY HANDS, 1790-1792.

1790 December 18. Sat off from Shannandoah falls for the great falls, and when we got there we worked at the lock seats, untill we went to the little falls.

1791. February 21. James Rannells overseer, and a party of the Labourers went from the great falls, to the little falls, and the remainder of the hands went there in april following—Except a black smyth and assistant, John Cusack Mason, and two men to assist him in building the stone wall for the Company's new house, also John Smith and a negroe man, Cuting and hewing Logg's for said House; the men Cleared the cut of the Canal at the little falls, from wood and Wreck, built the Hutts etc., and cut 52 perches of the Cannall, all but clearing the stones out of it.

June 4. the men Tools etc. Came from the little falls to the Great falls, and worked from the falls branch at the uper end of the cannall, to the uper end of Sennica falls Viz, at the uper end of the Great falls Cannall, blowed and levelled the rocks there, and cleared from thence sundry places, and points up the river, blowed and removed sundry rocks in the water, built walls in different places, and cut sundry barrs of rocks between the Great falls and the Widow Brusters landing and likewise blowed and removed sundry rocks at Trammells bottom, and at the lower end of the Cut at Sennica, deepened the head of the cut at Sennica and made Considerable Improvements at the head of the cut, in the daming.

August 12. Left the Great and Sennica falls, and came to Hooks falls sunday Evening the 14th Ins't with the Company's tools etc, and worked there from one End of the Falls to the other, blowing and moving of rock's and Every obstruction that could be done, untill there was a rise of water and the hands getting very sickly, and the weather wett, and nothing but bowe [bough] Hutts to keep in, we Improved it a good Deal; but may be still Improved more.

August 30. Left Hooks falls, and went up the same day, above Colo, Locketts ferry, done Every thing there, that the river, would admit us to do.

September 1st. Left Locketts falls, and went up to Berlin stayed there the 2nd. Did all there that the river would admit us to do.

September 3. Left Berlin and went up to Paynes falls. Cleared out the fall there, and made a Dam of a Considerable length in order to turn the water thro. the Cut and lined the cut on the maryld side, with stone and wood the whole length of the cut, and went over all the work opposite the mill removed and blasted Sundry rocks, etc. opposite

that bottom, and blowed sundry rocks between there and the spout at Shannandoah, and removed sundry obstructions.

November 5th. Left Paynes falls, and went up to Shannandoah falls, blasted and removed Sundry obstructions, above the spout, up to the mouth of Cates branch: and went over the former works, deepened them: and Improved the daming, as much as the river would admit of and the health of the people.

November 24. Left Shannandoah falls, and Came to the Great falls, went to work in the Lock seats, and on sunday the 11th of december, the river raised Considerably, there happened to be a musk rat hole, in the banking, which the water got thro, and carried away about 14 feet in the front, and two feet deep, and against the back wall, went upwards and downwards Some distance, which took the hands near a week to repair, and returned then to work at the Lock seats.

1792 January 7th. all hands went to the little falls.

[Endorsement:] Return of Movements by the Potowmack Company's hands being 9 times from December 18, 1790 to January 7th 1792.<sup>18</sup>

XIX. TOBIAS LEAR TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

WASHINGTON March 13th 1796

Dear Sir,

Owing to some delay in the mail or neglect in the post offices your acceptable favor of the 28th ultimo did not get to my hands 'till the 10th. I am pleased that it is in my power to answer your queries respecting the navigation of the Potomac.

1st. "What proportion of the work is done? At least four fifths. Boats carrying from 100 to 120 bbls flour pass freely from New Creek, 12 miles above Cumberland to the Great Falls. A few places in this distance require bettering: but in the low water of summer they can be done at no great expence. The Canal leading to the Lockseats at the Great Falls is completed. The lock seats remain to be excavated and the Locks finished. This is the *great* work now to be done. Six locks, of 12 feet each, are required here. the three first, from the situation of the ground, or rather rock, will require more walling than excavation: but the 3 last, next the River, must be sunk in a Rock and this Rock being of a tough, sluggish nature, but too hard to be broken with picks, will cause great expence of powder and much hard persevering labour. The course of the locks is changed from the original plan and they will now communicate with the River in a secure and eligible situation. The portage from the basin of the Canal at the Great Falls to a good and safe landing place below the Lock seats on the River is scarcely half a mile. Great pains have been taken in perfecting the navigation between the Great and little falls, which is now safe and good, and may be used at all seasons. The Canal and Locks at the little falls are finished and have been in use upward of 8 months. So that excepting the portage at the Great falls the River is used from 12 miles above Fort Cumberland to tide water.

2d Query. What proportion remains to be done? This is answered in the foregoing.

<sup>18</sup> The handwriting of this endorsement, which is that of the text of the paper, is unlike any other autograph among the papers. No clue is given as to authorship.

3d Query. When will it probably be completed? Certainly within two years, unless interruptions, which cannot at this time be foreseen, should occur.

4th Query. "What per Cent will it probably yield in the present State of population and produce"?

In order to answer this satisfactorily it will be necessary to observe that the law establishing the rate of tolls allows three places for collection—viz. one below and near the mouth of the South Branch, one at Payne's falls below the Shannandoah and one at the Great falls. at each of the 2 first places 3 d. sterlg. pr. bble is allowed for flour etc. and at the last place 6 d. st'g, this would make 1 st'g in the whole; but to make a fair Statemt. it will only be proper to say that the whole will pay at the two last places, making 9 d. st'g pr. bble. And to proceed on sound data it is best to take the quantity of flour etc. exported from Alex. and Geo. Town 9/10ths of which is brought from such parts of the Country as will naturally send its produce down the River when the navigation shall be completed. The follow'g statemt in figures will place the matter in a clear point of view—

|   |               |
|---|---------------|
| origin'l Capital of the Potom'k C'y   | £ 50,000 St'g |
| say Interest on the above accord'g to instalmts paid  | 15,000        |
| 100 Additional shares at 130 £ st'g each <sup>19</sup>  | 13,000        |
|   | <hr/>         |
|   | £ 78,000      |
| Flour and Wheat, Indian Corn Rye, Oates, Beans, Pease etc. exported from Alex'a and G. Town in 1795 estimating the whole as flour <sup>20</sup> |               |
| 200,000 bbls at 9 d.  | £ 7500        |
| Tobacco 1500 Hhds at least from about the River above,  |               |
| at 3/   | 225           |
| Pig Iron and Castings at a low estimate 1000 tons, 4/   | 200           |
| The only return Article that can be fairly ascertain'd at present is salt of which more than 200,000 bush'ls at 3 farthings pr bush'l           | 625           |
|   | <hr/>         |
|   | £ 8,550       |

This alone will give an interest of almost eleven per Cent. on the accumulated Capital of 78,000, immediately on the completion of the work. Should the forgoing be exaggerated (which I believe is not) it would be much more than made good by articles not enumerated, and to you who know the Country so well it is unnecessary to remark on the addition which must arise from the returns of the produce of the Western Country and from the indian trade from lime, coal and other articles brot down the river and from the opening the extensive passes of the Potomac, which will be attended to by the Potomac Co. they having the power so to do. On the Connigochegue one lock is already made which opens that valuable branch to a considerable distance into a rich Coun-

<sup>19</sup> In 1795 books were opened for one hundred additional shares in order to commence work on the Shenandoah River.

<sup>20</sup> Upwards of 150,000 bbls flour was exported from Alex'a and about 10,000 from G. Town, the other articles would fully make up the 40,000 bbls. [Note in original.]

try and another will carry it into Pennsylvania and take in the vicinity of Carlisle, Yorktown etc. The Shanandoah has been inspected by two judicious Engineers men of experience in inland navigation, who unite in reporting the facility and light expenses (not exceeding 40,000 dolls.) with which it can be made navigable to the Potomac. All the obstructions that can be considered as of any note, lay within Seven miles of its junction with the Potomac and nature has done so much towards facilitating the navigation of this part that at least 2/3d of the labour under other circumstances will be saved. And, as a favorable addition, the U. S. have lately purchased the property at the junction of the Potomac and Shanandoah for an Arsenal,<sup>21</sup> [foundary?] etc. To convey the water to their works they must go through the most difficult part of the work that must be done to make the Shanandoah navigable, and should the Potomac Co. join with them (as they undoubtedly will) the cut may be made to answer all the purposes of navigation and to supply the work with water, and dividing the expense will make it light to each. When the Shanandoah is made navigable more produce will be brought through it into the Potomac than will come through the Potomac above the Shanandoah.

5th. Can Shares be bought? Perhaps 20 or 30 may be bought up at present; but beyond that no. I presume they are in hands who know their value and not being pressed will hold them.

6th. At what price? The additional Shares were placed at £ 130 Stg to include the interest on the instalmt. paid on the original shares, that the old and new subscribers might be placed on the same footing. These shares are all taken up viz. 40 by Maryland, 20 by Virg'a and 40 by individuals.<sup>22</sup> The no. of shares above mention or less may now be bought for about five hundred dolls. each all paid up which is less than the new shares; but those who are willing to will do it only in consequence of being pressed for money.

7. Is it known whether the proprietors will be safe against further contributors, or how far they will probably be called upon? The additional Shares are fully equal to completing the work upon the most extended calculation. Should more be wanted for the navigation of the branches, which will probably be the case, it will arise from the revenue of the tolls on the main River. At the last Genl. meetg of the Stock Holders in Augt. it was determined to collect tolls at the two places about the Gt. Falls this year; but the Board of Directors upon weighing the matter thot. best to defer the collection at present as some small repairs and improvmts are wanting on the River above which could not be done 'till the low water of summer and murmerings would naturally arise on the demand of tolls unless the navigation was in a more perfect state. Had this toll been collected it would have produced already more than 4000 dollars to the Company; but, for the reasons mentioned, it was prudent to delay it.

I have the pleasure to add that the Directors have lately engaged an experienced Engineer<sup>23</sup> to superintend and direct their works, particu-

<sup>21</sup> See *Letters and Recollections of George Washington, being Letters to Tobias Lear and Others* (New York, 1906), pp. 96, 101; Washington as President of the United States urged the purchase of this property for an arsenal.

<sup>22</sup> Mrs. Bacon-Foster states that Maryland took sixty and individuals the remaining forty. *The Potomac Route to the West*, p. 181.

<sup>23</sup> Captain Christopher Myers; *Letters to Lear*, pp. 97-101.

larly the locks to be made at the G. Falls, that materials, stone, lime and brick are engaged and that system and ener[g]y will prevail in their works this year.

I esteem it fortunate, my dear Sir, that you had no other acquaintance in Georgetown to whom you could apply for this information, as it gives me an opportunity of renewing that friendly intercourse from which I have heretofore received so much pleasure and advantage. And, without boasting, I may add, that no one has the means of giving you more accurate information on this Subject. Your notes on Virginia<sup>24</sup> first led me to view the importance of this River—an unremitting attention to it since has given me much information. My own business has taken me up the River frequently within these 18 months past. I have in my possession all the notes and remarks relative to the navigation which were in the hands of the President.<sup>25</sup> And being one of the Board of Directors, and chosen by them to attend to the active duties on the River I have had it more in my power than others to gain useful and just information. I only regret that the delay of your letter getting to my hands may have been inconvenient to you.

I have been guilty of a neglect, for which I cannot forgive myself, in not having written to you since my arrival from Europe which was in Augt. 1794,<sup>26</sup> and to your goodness alone do I trust to make me at ease with myself in this same. Accumulation and pressure of business incident to a new establishment on my first arrival left me no time, but to attend to it; afterwards I was ashamed to open a correspondence, having neglected it so long. Your kind enquiries relative to my wishes in my new pursuit being fulfilled, claims a grateful acknowledgement. And I am happy to say, that, considering the late unsettled situation of our Commerce, I have done as well as I had a right to expect. I did not visit France, because, when I was in Europe, the state of affairs in that nation was hostile to everything relative to that systematic plan of business which I meant to pursue. I visited the commercial and manufacturing parts of England, Scotland and Holland, settled in each some plan of business, and obtained much useful information. The late revolution in Holland deprived me of the benefits which I had calculated upon from that quarter. I have imported considerable quantities of goods from G. B. which have been disposed of to advantage; but the want of punctuality in many of those who take goods from Mercht. in this Country has determined me to curtail very much, if not wholly give up, that line of business. Hitherto I have been fortunate in my Sales, having taken

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* was privately printed in 1784-1785 in Paris. A French translation was published in 1786, the first English edition in 1787. The Potomac River is described and prospects for opening the navigation reviewed.

<sup>25</sup> "You are perfectly at liberty to examine my presses and Trunks at Mount Vernon, for any papers I may have respecting the transactions of the Directors of the Potomack Compa., or any matters and things which may concern the navigation of that River." Washington to Lear, Dec. 12, 1794; *Letters to Lear*, p. 79. "Looking into an old porte folio which I had not seen this many a day, I found the papers which accompany this note, relative to the River Potomac." Washington to Lear, Dec. 22, 1794; *ibid.*, p. 86. Doubtless this was the bundle of which these papers now printed were a part.

<sup>26</sup> Lear had sailed for Europe on private business late in 1793.

such security for paym'ts as will ensure them. I have carefully avoided meddling in the extravagant and unwarrantable Speculations which have lately been so common in our Country. Having a start upon a plan which looked forward to a regular and extensive trade in the Country, if I have by my caution missed great profits I feel consolation in Knowing that I shall not suffer by a crush which I think does not require a spirit of prophecy to foretel must happen Shortly in this Country among the extensive Speculators. The Copartnership of Lear and Co. consist'g of Mr. Dalton, James Greenleaf and myself is dissolved by mutual consent, Mr. Greenleaf's pursuits not according with our plan. Mr. Dalton and myself have lately enterd into a new Copartnership under the same firm. We have an excellent establishment in this place, another at the Great Falls, and are preparing a third at the junction of the Shanandoah and Potomac. These with our extensive connexions in New Eng'd promises good Success in business confind mostly to the United States. We may extend it abroad as we find it advantgeous.

Before I close I will add one word more on the Potomac. Boats from 60 a 70 ft head and 9[ft.?] beam ply constantly between Cumberland and Williams port on the Connigochegue, each carrying from 100 to 120 bbls flour, they come down in 1 1/2 days deposit their Cargoes and return home in 5 days—from Williams Port Shepperds town and the junctur of the Potomac and Shananoah they bring their flour etc. Boats of the same description to the G. Falls and to Watts Branch, at both which places good store Houses are erected, from whence it comes (at present mostly by land) to the shipping port. between 25 and 30,000 barr'ls flour was brought in boats to the falls and branch last year. About 30 boats ply upon the River and such was the demand for them when I was last up (in feb'y) that one hundred could have found full employment. In the present unfinished state of the works and scarcity of boats, it costs but one half to bring flour to market in this way for the distance of 60 or 70 miles of what it does by Waggon. Increase the distance and you make the expense less in a very high ratio.

So far from considering it as trouble I shall value as a favor any commissions you may be pleasd to commit to me in this quarter, and shall always feel happy in being able to give you any information you may ask, being with sentiments of firm respect and attachment Dear Sir,

Your friend and obd. Serv.

TOBIAS LEAR

Mr. Jefferson

[Endorsement:] To Mr. Jefferson, 13th March 1796.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*The Racial History of Man.* By ROLAND B. DIXON, Professor of Anthropology at Harvard University. (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1923. Pp. xvi, 583. \$6.00.)

THE racial history of man is one of the cardinal fields of research in anthropology, and to elucidate this field properly would necessitate a most thorough anthropological knowledge. Such knowledge we do not as yet fully possess. The subject is great, very complex, and still far from covered by thorough investigation. It is in a stage where the utmost caution as well as breadth and depth of view are called for in any attempted far-reaching generalizations, and where errors, even serious errors, are easily made.

Dr. Dixon is professor of anthropology—anthropology in general—at Harvard. He is a noted worker in linguistics and ethnology and secondarily in the lines represented by the present book. In this latter field he has the very great disadvantage of a lack of personal observations and of therefore being obliged to depend largely upon the records of others. He is very much in the position Ripley was in when writing his *Races of Europe*, and the results are even much more controversial and, in important respects, much less tenable.

It is no pleasant work for a reviewer to point out another man's errors, particularly if he otherwise has nothing but a high and friendly regard for him. But the matter is too serious to be lightly passed over.

Our whole modern experience in anthropology tends to weaken the reliance placed on any single features or any small group of features, be they what they may. The fetishistic old-time value attributed to the cephalic index is largely a matter of history, and so it is with the height indices of the skull, with the nasal index, and with other similar complexes. We now know positively that the same index does not always mean the same conditions, that even in the purest groups and under most normal circumstances all characters, including indices, possess an extended range of variation, that the variations are susceptible of alteration by various factors, and that the direction of the variation may differ in the various measurements or indices even in the same person. All of this has been as if non-existent for Dr. Dixon in writing his book; he has almost as easily disencumbered himself of the various external characteristics, such as color, nature of hair, and physiognomy, to name only the three most important; and he does not even mention such weighty race-differentials as the radio-humeral and tibio-femoral



index, the complex of platynaemy-platymery-platybrachy, the form of the teeth (especially upper incisors), and others. What he does would be ingenious if correct; as it is, it is probable that it will remain simply ingenious.

It would be unjust to claim that all the results arrived at by Dr. Dixon are at variance with reality as seen by other workers. There are here and there good points. The method has without doubt a certain degree of applicability; but to use it for more than the limited results it can give must inevitably lead to disaster—and Dr. Dixon's book is a disaster.

A study of the three indices (cephalic, length-height, and nasal) in the available data gives Dr. Dixon "eight fundamental types" which he calls (p. 21) the Caspian, Mediterranean, Proto-Negroid, Proto-Australoid, Alpine, Ural, Palae-Alpine, and Mongoloid. This is done at first "for convenience of reference and to avoid the continual use of unfamiliar and forbidding formulae", but almost at once these names assume the weight of racial entities and pure factors, which in a most astounding, often almost a sleight-of-hand manner, scatter over all parts of the earth to form present humanity and to lose completely most of their main characteristics, yet retain a capability of showing others of them unchanged, so as to be everywhere clearly distinguishable by the new method. There is no serious attempt at explanation as to how these eight "fundamental" types may have originated, or how it comes that the cephalic, the unstable height-length, and the very changeable nasal index are preserved or reappear intact, regardless of admixture, time, or change of environment; nor is there any effort made at explaining how the various contingents representing these eight pure human proto-sources succeeded in reaching sometimes immense distances through regions presumably already peopled—for had the latter not been pre-empted there would have been no reason for going so far; or finally, how while their characters on one side showed such tenacity, they came to constitute on the other the "nineteen blends" (p. 20) which are also assumed.

In Dr. Dixon's introduction there are indeed excellent statements which show that he was well aware of the difficulties of the problem he approaches, and intended to treat the subject with due caution; but soon the *fata morgana* of an easy solution of the great racial problems seems to have captivated him to such an extent that he gives a free rein to his untried horses. His attitude is well expressed on page 16 when he says: "If we are willing to accept as a working hypothesis that the eight groups of this sort are fundamental types, from which all the others have been derived by blending, we have placed in our hands a key which will unlock many a door and open far-reaching vistas into the problems of the classification and distribution of peoples." On page 22 he cautions us to bear in mind that the terms which he gives to his fundamental

eight types "are used with a very definite and very restricted meaning", but he nowhere satisfactorily defines this meaning; and he gives his designations forms which for everyone must mean throughout a definite tinge, connecting them now with the negro, now with the Mongol, now with the Australian. He well anticipates (p. 23) that "the conclusions to which we are led will in many cases be novel; in some they will at first sight appear revolutionary or even absurd". With an evident foreboding he asks that judgment be suspended until the evidence is presented and the reader reaches the concluding chapter; but this chapter only makes the judgment surer and more forcible, for here the author has largely discarded all restrictions.

The incongruities brought out through the method used by Dr. Dixon—on the surface of things, if not always in the author's intention—are so great and so numerous as to be appalling. The Mongoloid type (p. 42) is already "traceable apparently in earliest Palaeolithic times in Spain, France, and Belgium"; the Neolithic crania of Mecklenburg in northern Germany are "composed primarily of Proto-Australoid and Proto-Negroid factors" (p. 75); the "Pigmy group may be in general considered as a very divergent section of the Palae-Alpine form" (p. 222); the Japanese (p. 290) are Palae-Alpine, Proto-Negroid, and Alpine—not Mongolic; but the Negrito, on the other hand (p. 375), are Mongoloid and Palae-Alpine; the Eskimo show largely the Caspian and Mediterranean type with a trace of the Alpine; the eastern North-American Indians disclose elements that are Proto-Negroid, Proto-Australoid, Caspian, etc., etc.

In the concluding chapter, the eight fundamental types of Dr. Dixon assume much more definitely the status of stocks of people, and we read of their "drifting", "crossing", "spreading". The data given in the body of the book are not cleared nor substantiated, but only summarized, rounded up, and supplemented by some reflections.

What the summaries are may be shown by one concrete example (pp. 482-483):

The distribution of the Caspian [northern white] type to-day is a curious one, since the areas of its concentration are very widely separated. The largest, and that in which it is present in greatest purity, is, paradoxically enough, that occupied by the Eskimo, the second most important one comprising northern and northeastern Africa. A third area extends along the southeastern coast of South America, while a last includes Scandinavia and Great Britain. As an important minority factor the type is very widely spread, here and there, along the western margin of Europe, around the southern end of the Caspian Sea, in northern India (where in places it is strongly dominant), in Tibet (?), in China, in some of the islands of Micronesia, in New Zealand, and in isolated places along the Pacific shores of America.

And there are worse examples.

However, Dr. Dixon has made a large and honest, even if evidently rather an ill-fated, effort. He has not given what can be accepted as

true generalizations or interpretations, yet the book is by no means all error. Numerous facts appear clearer than before, even though viewed differently from what other workers must regard them. And there is also many a good thought. There is a very good statement, for instance, on the "Nordic" race (p. 520). Perhaps some day the scales will fall off and then we may have the sound truth without the illusion. There is no easy show-all in human biology, just as there is no cure-all in medicine.

ALEŠ HRDLÍČKA.

*La Mésopotamie: les Civilisations Babylonienne et Assyrienne.* Par L. DELAPORTE, ancien Attaché des Musées Nationaux, Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. [L'Évolution de l'Humanité, Synthèse Collective, dirigée par Henri Berr, VIII.] (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. 1923. Pp. xiv, 420. 15 fr.)

THIS is a remarkable and admirable example of a type of handbook upon a recondite subject in which the French excel all other modern peoples. It belongs to a very elaborate series, every one written by a specialist, and it is understood that all are likely to be translated into English. The general editor, Henri Berr, has prefixed to this volume an introduction entitled "Les Sémites et la Civilisation", which sketches in eight small pages the whole field covered by the book with an almost uncanny skill in broad generalization. The general title of the book conforms to what seems now to be general usage, but is none the less unfortunate and ill conceived. To use the word Mesopotamia as a general term for the whole valley of the Tigris and Euphrates is a misnomer, for the word ought to be restricted to the region of the rivers Belikh, Khābūr, and Euphrates, corresponding to Aram-Naharim or Naharin. This mistake has been avoided by the British authorities in taking over the mandate, by adopting the Arabic word Irak to cover the whole country.

Delaporte's book is divided into two main portions, "La Civilisation Babylonienne" (pp. 11-262) and "La Civilisation Assyrienne" (pp. 263-415), and the disposition of space which gives so much more to the former seems in good perspective. In the first part there are discussed: I. "Les Cadres Historiques"; II. "Les Institutions"; III. "Les Croyances et les Techniques"; and the same order is used of Assyria. Under I. there are brief sketches of "Les Pays et ses Ressources", "Habitants et Dynasties", while II. comprises "L'État et la Famille", "La Législation", "L'Organisation Économique", and III. discusses "La Religion, Les Arts, Les Lettres, et les Sciences". The only book in English which covers at all this same field is Jastrow's *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria* (Philadelphia, 1915), and the two books are mutually supplementary and complementary. Jastrow is much superior in illustrations, in the account of the decipherment, and, barring a few

minor inaccuracies and certain gaps recently filled by later discoveries, is also better in the sketch of the history. In all the rest Delaporte is distinctly an advance upon Jastrow, whose book, it may be said, does not appear in the bibliography, in which also many other important books do not find mention. American work, as is so often the case with Continental writers, is almost wholly missing, as, for example, all my own contributions! (*il n'y a pas de quoi rire!*) Very few German works appear, and English are rather scantily registered. Yet in spite of these gaps the book as a whole makes everywhere an impression of thoroughness, and many books must have been used which are not listed. The book is very free of errors of the press, but Niss (p. 403) should be Nies. We shall eagerly await the appearance in this same series of the promised volumes, *Le Nil et la Civilisation Égyptienne* by A. Moret, and *La Perse* by Clément Huart.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

*The Cambridge History of India.* In six volumes. Volume I. *Ancient India.* Edited by E. J. RAPSON, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xxiv, 736. Plates. 42 s.)

THIS volume contains an account of the history of India from the earliest times to the middle of the first century A.D., during all of which period the country itself does not furnish a single document with direct historiographic intent. Particularly the world outside of India, from which India was never separated by a Chinese wall and in which the Hindus must have been interested in some degree, receives no recognition in Indian records. The encroachments of the Achaemenidan Persian power took place during centuries in which Hindu intellectual life reached one of its summits. It is the period of early Buddhism. Hindu thought became important for all human thought to a degree only slightly less cogent than in the somewhat earlier time of the Upanishads—externally even more so, because Buddhism affected in due time all Eastern religion. Yet we have no allusion in Hindu writing to the political conditions of a period that threatened to turn India into a chain of Persian satrapies.

Many centuries after, the Mahommedan conquest of Persia drove a considerable number of Zoroastrian Parsis to India, into the hospitable bosom of a people related by blood and language. As far as we know the Hindus who gave them shelter, even at that late time, had no idea who these people were, and that they were sheltering their very own kin. It is not of record that the Hindus were ever conscious of the important fact that across the mountains to the northwest dwelt at all times a branch of their own stock—the other half of the so-called Aryans or Indo-Iranians.

Even more surprising is it that the impact of Alexander's conquests and the foundation of the comparatively permanent Graeco-Indian states in the northwest of India left no dent in the consciousness of the Hindus, such as might have induced historic narrative. Hindu art and architecture, Hindu science (astronomy) were affected profoundly by these events, but no Hindu writer alludes to them. The history of Greece in India is that of turbid Greek historiography combined with records of coins and archaeological objects. Even the heroic resistance to Alexander by the Hindu king whom the Greeks call Poros (we do not even know what his Sanskrit name was: Paarava or Parvataka?) has no echo in Sanskrit literature. Ingrained chauvinism prevented the Greek writers, not excluding Megasthenes, who visited repeatedly and peacefully the court of the Maurya king Chandragupta, from reporting with any degree of intelligibility the Hindu names of persons and places, and Hindu records do not correct this failure.<sup>1</sup>

*A fortiori* Hindu literature of early times knows not the farther West. The term Yavana or Yona (Ionia) occurs frequently as designation of the Greece of Alexander, or Bactria; so does the name Alexandria (Alasanda of the Yonas). Babylon (Baveru), where Alexander died, is hardly mentioned in Hindu literature. Contact with Egypt is of the faintest. Such knowledge as India has of the West really accentuates the isolation of the great subcontinent—an isolation which is even more complete spiritually than it is politically or historically.

On Alexander's eastward march, at Taxila (Taksacilā) the Greeks first noticed Hindu ascetics. Fifteen of them were sitting outside the city, naked and motionless, in a sun so hot that one could not walk on the stones with bare feet. Later on, one of them, whom the Greeks blunderingly call Kalanos, had himself burned alive on a pyre, covered with gold and silver vessels and precious stuffs, in the presence of the entire Greek army. Kalanos must have been a Jaina ascetic. The highest interests of Hindu life are quite the reverse of national. Every Hindu that is worth while is engaged with the great problem of individual salvation. Caste is his prime concern during life; at the end he seeks that altogether individual salvation which, in one sense or another, means extinction, the only escape from the eternal round of existence. Such a state of mind is fundamentally incompatible with broad national feeling. India of old, indeed up to the present day when, for the first time, national aspiration eddies in from the West, was not interested in nationality. Individual kings, or even short-lived dynasties, rise to considerable power and some degree of permanence, but there is no real solidarity. We may safely connect with this the failure of Hindu literature to report connectedly, or systematically, or critically, any kind of secular historical event. The famous Maurya Emperor Aśoka (250 B.C.), who adopted Buddhism, had edicts engraved upon rocks and pil-

<sup>1</sup> See the recent book by Dr. Otto Stein, *Megasthenes and Kautilya* (Vienna, 1922).

lars of his far-flung empire. These are the prime historical documents of early India, but even they deal largely with ethical and religious concerns. We must not forget, however, that two dozen hymns of the Rig-veda, or half a dozen chapters of the Upanishads throw really more light on the history of the human race than would many tomes of Oriental historical narrative.

These are, by and large, the conditions which confront an attempt to write the history of India from the beginning of her time to 50 A.D. Under the editorship of Professor Rapson of Cambridge, a distinguished group of English, American, and Continental scholars have compiled in twenty-six chapters, illustrated by many plates and maps, a sketch of India's history, beginning with its Indo-European prehistory outside of India. If these sketches are rather philological and archaeological, or, at best, describe Hindu institutions, the fault lies with the documents, and not with the writers. At any rate, we have before us a handy volume in which are gathered and sifted pretty much all things that concern the secular life of India in the pre-Christian era.

Naturally, the most permanent chapters of this composite treatise are those based either on archaeological evidence, or (rather paradoxically) on reports from the outside of India. Especially the chapters which deal with Alexander's conquests and its consequences are likely to remain fairly closed, because both Greek reports and archaeological evidence are not likely to be extended by any considerable future historic sources. Professor Bevan's chapter on Alexander the Great (XV.), and on India in Early Greek and Latin Literature (XVI.); Professor Macdonald's chapter on the Hellenic Kingdoms of Syria, Bactria, and Parthia (XVII.); and Professor Rapson's chapters on the Successors of Alexander the Great (XXII.) and the Scythian and Parthian Invaders (XXIII.) are really invaluable résumés, of precedent long and difficult researches, for which their authors cannot be thanked sufficiently. Chapters XVIII. to XX., by Dr. Thomas, deal with the Maurya period from Chandragupta to Açoka (305-250 B.C.). Here native evidence coagulates into something like a concrete body of facts not too amorphous for historical statement. The gracious figure of Açoka, this real emperor who had turned Buddhist, illumines India's early secular history more than any other. But he does not shine by conquests as much as by his edicts engraved upon rocks and pillars, which exhort his people to virtue, warn against sin, and plead for tolerance and love for humanity.

Buddha's death, around about 480 B.C., is still the first definite point in Hindu chronology. A century or two before that time ends the Vedic period. Of this we have no record from without, and no annals from within, except priestly annals, concerned primarily with religion and religious institutions. History here is incidental and meagre. Occasionally some country or some secular figure stands out: the land of the Bharatas (ancient Aryan India); Trasadasyu, the greatest of Puru

kings; King Janamejaya, whose elaborate horse-sacrifice is celebrated in the *Çatapatha Brahmana*; Janaka, the king of Videha, famed as father of Sitā, the heroine of the *Rāmāyana*, and patron of the sage Yājñavalkya, ever anxious for the wisdom of the Upanishads. If an Indian exploration society should ever dig through the thick crust of centuries that are piled upon the Vedic period, that might result in revelations similar to those of the Mycenaean and Minoan ages that were found at the root of Hellenic civilization. At present we have nothing but winged words which do not furnish a clear picture of the life of that early time, least of all of its political circumstances and secular events. So familiar a term as Rājā (*rex*) "king" is not clearly defined: was he a real king or merely a tribal chieftain? We know that the Vedic period was a cattle-breeding age, but there were also workers in metals, wagons, some kind of navigation, trade, gold and jewels. The meaning or scope of all such reports will remain vague until there come to light real properties that will standardize the statements.

The chapters on Jainism (VI.), Buddhism (VII.), and Epic Literature (XI.), as indeed every other chapter except those that are based on outside information (Alexander) or epigraphic testimony (Açoka), deal pretty uniformly with legend or institutional matters. Precious as are the suggestions, here and there, of historical events in the narrower sense, the entire great work is, after all, philological rather than historical—if we choose to make the distinction. In any case the *Cambridge History* is a scholarly and completely authoritative outline of what we know about secular India of early times. Aided by an elaborate index, it will remain for a long time the *vade mecum* that will guide both Indologists and historians along the ill-marked and labyrinthine roads of a land that may claim in important respects a first place in the records of civilized man.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

*A History of Rome.* By TENNEY FRANK, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University. [American Historical Series, Charles H. Haskins, General Editor.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1923. Pp. ix, 613. Library edition, \$4.50; educational edition, \$3.50.)

ALTHOUGH adapted for college purposes, this general survey of Roman history to A.D. 476 is written more for the general American reader than for the special student, and Professor Frank has been at great pains to interpret the various stages and aspects of Roman civilization to those who are acquainted with and interested in the problems of a modern democracy. In Roman society he sees the development of specifically Italian, *i.e.*, Indo-European, racial characteristics much less influenced by mixture with other racial strains than anywhere else in the ancient world. And he is particularly successful in interpreting



Roman character and the spirit of the political institutions of the Roman republic. However, his interests are by no means confined to politics, for the religious, intellectual, social, and especially the economic conditions of each period have been accorded very ample consideration. It is refreshing to find that one who is so familiar with Roman economic history does not feel that economic and geographic factors were the determining influences in the history of Roman society, and that he preserves a proper place for the influences of national and individual character, capacities, and ideals. In his treatment of the late annalistic account of the regal period and the early republic Professor Frank displays considerable charity. Although regarding Rome as an Etruscan foundation, which does not antedate 600 B.C., he considers the names of the traditional seven (Etruscan) kings to be authentic, and authentic also the core of the tradition concerning the reign of each as it appears in Livy. Furthermore he proceeds upon the assumption that the Livian account of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. depends upon the writers of the age of Fabius Pictor and that these had at their disposal, and used conscientiously, not merely the *fasti* and pontifical annals but also the texts of the laws, *senatus consulta*, and treaties of these centuries (pp. 587-588). Accordingly he accepts as authentic the Lex Valeria attributed to 508 B.C., the Valerio-Horatian and Licinio-Sextian laws, and other similar portions of the Livian narrative. But it must be borne in mind that the preservation of such laws and decrees is hypothetical and cannot be definitely established. They do not seem to have been at the disposal of Cato in the second century B.C.; and if they had been available for the earliest annalists it would be difficult to account for the differences which are found in the various versions of the early constitutional development of Rome which have come down to us. Chapter XXXII., which is devoted to a discussion of the causes of the decline of Rome, is particularly interesting. While admitting that we cannot attain finality on this point because we do not know the "invariable laws of cause and effect in any field where the human mind operates", the author nevertheless ventures to set forth those causes which seem to him to have the greatest probability. As the chief, he rates the over-rapid expansion of Rome. She annexed more than she could assimilate and so had to maintain her empire with large armies, which came to dominate the state and ultimately to drain its resources. A second important cause was the displacement of the Italian by a non-Italian racial element in Italy, which led to a complete transformation in Roman character and political capacity. Equally important was the existence of slavery on a vast scale, which brought about the disappearance of a vigorous, progressive class of free workers and weakened the national morale by degrading the arts, crafts, and trades in public esteem, and was also largely responsible for the infusion of the foreign elements into the citizen body. As subsidiary causes the author mentions the oppressive taxation under the Late Empire, the general industrial breakdown of the third

century, the failure of the state to deal properly with the problem of currency, the enervating and demoralizing effects of prosperity upon certain classes, and the lack of a stimulating *Weltanschauung*. In general the economic decline is regarded as dependent upon the decline of intellectual power and of racial vitality; the author does not believe that there was a great shortage of labor or serious lack of precious metals; and he emphatically discards Nietzsche's theory of the deteriorating influence of Christianity. It is inevitable that in a comprehensive work of this type opinions will be found which are bound to meet with disagreement from other scholars, but these will not prevent its being welcomed as a thoughtful and scholarly, as well as a very readable, work. Good maps and a selected bibliography of modern works bearing upon each chapter enhance its usefulness.

A. E. R. BOAK.

*A Short History of the Near East from the Founding of Constantinople (330 A.D. to 1922).* By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xvii, 408. \$3.00.)

THE condensation into manual form of the salient facts of sixteen hundred years of the intricate history of the Near East is indeed a delicate and perplexing task. Professor Davis is to be commended for the success which he has achieved from the standpoint of general outline and selection of material; considering the immense period of time under review the picture is well in focus. The Byzantine sections, especially, are good in their choice of material, the Justinian, Isaurian, and Comnenian periods receiving particularly skillful treatment. The rise of Islam, the Saracenic supremacy, and the growth of Turkish power are likewise well balanced. On the other hand, the survey of Turkish and Balkan history since 1683 is scarcely satisfactory. The author has indeed given us much more than a mere summary of political events, but a good deal of space seems wasted on trivial incidents and somewhat futile anecdotes at the cost of ignoring almost completely such vital factors as the economic penetration and financial domination from the West, and the social and economic development of the Balkan states since their liberation. Furthermore, even the briefest summary of events since 1918 should include some description of the rise and significance of the "new" Turkish nationalism.

From the standpoint of accuracy the book is disappointing. Numerous errors are discernible in the spelling of terms, Greek especially, and in geographical and descriptive details. A somewhat whimsical transliteration of proper names cannot but irritate a critical reader. More serious still are the positive distortions of fact produced by an apparent effort to enliven the narrative by means of impressive epithets and glittering generalizations. An exciting journalistic style may be necessary

to stimulate the sluggish intellect of the average undergraduate, but the effect is unquestionably to give an impression of superficiality and even of flagrant misrepresentation, which can hardly be a truthful reflection of the degree of scholarly detachment practised by the author. The prodigal use of inverted commas—the pages are literally sprinkled with them—is no doubt likewise designed to give piquancy to the style, a device hardly in keeping with the spirit of a sober historical manual.

It is most disconcerting to find that, in his interpretation of basic factors, Professor Davis has not risen above the conventional and poisonous theory of the secular quarrel between Occidentalism and Orientalism, Christianity and Islam. The ill-informed, biased opinions, and superficial sentimentality of Europeans and Americans regarding the Turks and their Christian neighbors, together with the violent espousing of one side or the other, serve chiefly to maintain at fever heat the hatred between the Near Eastern peoples and to pander to their excessive conceits. It is to be regretted that Professor Davis is himself not sufficiently free from inherited predilections and emotional prejudice against Oriental civilization in general, and the Turk in particular, to assist materially in promoting among Americans a sane outlook on Near Eastern problems.

HAROLD L. SCOTT.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*Histoire de la Nation Française.* Dirigée par GABRIEL HANOTAUX, de l'Académie Française. Tome XI. *Histoire des Arts.* Par LOUIS GILLET. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1922. Pp. 644. 48 fr.)

As in the other volumes of the series, here is an attempt to give the layman, in a readable volume to be written out of fullness of knowledge, a view of one great phase of French history from the earliest times to the present.

Readable it certainly is—rapid, vivid, colorful, even a bit too lyrical with its frequent recourse to the *glorieux, divine, sublime*. It seeks to emphasize the characteristically national in art, the natural flowering of the "French genius". A praiseworthy preoccupation, if it did not involve the old equation, repeated, alas, *mutatis mutandis*, by so many scholars of every nation: "French = admirable". Sometimes M. Gillet carries this to absurd lengths. In the dark ages, he says, France saves civilization; she conserves, assimilates: "Elle fait son métier de France" (p. 57). Among many other examples (for instance, pp. 98, 362, 406, 634) one particularly flagrant occurs in his summary of the Oriental hypothesis: "Des Français, comme toujours, avaient ouvert la voie."

Naturally one may expect that for certain periods the author's knowledge should be less adequate and his exposition less trenchant than for

others. His misunderstanding of the genesis of Gothic architecture and the essence of its fecund structured system is, however, scarcely excusable. He finds this in the ribbed groin vault (*croisée d'ogives*), which he supposes (pp. 96-98) to be a French invention. Only in an appendix does he notice "new studies" of their Lombard origin, mentioning the researches of Henry (!) Kingsley Porter. Now there is nothing novel about the idea that the Lombards invented the ribbed groin vault. Porter's remarkable work, in this regard, merely pushed its origin there back still further, to the middle of the eleventh century. Nor was the ribbed groin vault itself the differentia of the advance to Gothic. The Lombards tended to abandon it because of the lack of just those additional devices which made the Gothic possible: the levelling of vault-crowns by use of the pointed arch, the concentration of thrust by raising the *formerets*. These significant French devices were pointed out years ago by Viollet-le-Duc and Moore, and are mentioned in every competent textbook.

Perhaps the most successful presentation is that of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Here is abundant knowledge as well as sympathy, a skillful interpretation rising superior to the habitual judgments.

The treatment of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is less sure. The author deplores their lack of a common credo, of a contemporary *style*, when doubtless the future will find them in possession of both. Perhaps the ignoring of Picasso may explain this failure for the most recent years. True, Picasso is not a Frenchman; but then neither was Glück, whose work is nevertheless included in the chapter on music.

A word about the illustrations: In contrast to the current use of half-tones, supposedly scientific, as for instance in Hourticq's *Art in France*, the method here is an interpretive one. M. René Piot, himself an artist of distinction, has drawn the principal monuments of architecture and sculpture in line, and paraphrased the paintings, tapestry, and glass in water colors. The result, in harmony with the type, is a piece of bookmaking which is once more a work of art.

FISKE KIMBALL.

*Africa and the Discovery of America.* By LEO WIENER, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Harvard University. Volumes II. and III. (Philadelphia: Innes and Sons. 1922. Pp. xxii, 287; xxi, 402. \$5.00; \$6.00.)

THE first volume of this work has already been noticed in this *Review* (XXVI. 102); the present volumes raise further archaeological and philological questions. The author starts from a position which has been held by others, that there is a balance of evidence in favor of the supposition that the northeast corner of South America had been at least sighted in or before 1448. But he develops this enormously into an attempted demonstration of wide sociological influence, in pre-Columban

times, exerted by Africa on America. The first position is based on an interpretation of specific historical evidence; the basis of his attempted further demonstration is a mass of details in archaeology, folk-lore, and philology. But archaeologists and folklorists are notoriously conflicting and uncertain in their conclusions and hypotheses; their sea is less charted than even that of Columbus and the variations of their compasses are even less explicable than his. Philology has acquired, it is true, an outline of phonetic and structural laws—that is, we are coming in it to a fair division between the possible and the impossible; but from time to time philologists, even of eminence, are seduced into wild excursions, on the one hand, by vividness of external resemblance in words and, on the other, by their own hypotheses which lead them to grasp at connections and similarities of the most fantastic character. It would be hard to say whether the etymologies which joined Erin to Iran have done the greater historical mischief or the hypotheses which find the Semitic *El* in such names for God as the African *Le-za*. Have not both words an *e* and an *l* in them?

Professor Wiener's fundamental hypothesis is that the Arabs were the great carriers of civilization. He has already demonstrated, after his fashion, in his *Contributions toward a History of Arabico-Gothic Culture*, that the Gothic language is full of words of Arabic origin and that the European civilization and languages, up into Scandinavia, were deeply affected within fifty years by the Arab invaders who landed in the south of Spain in 710. (Perhaps a reference may not here be out of place to a longish notice of this book by the present reviewer in the *Nation*, CVII. 300 ff., Sept. 14, 1918.) It would seem that a look at the dates were enough to send such a hypothesis, built on a collection of the queerest etymologies, flying to the winds. It is an eccentric offshoot of that unhistorical magnifying of the Arabian civilization, which was so long most unhappily fostered by our encyclopaedias and popular books of reference. In his new venture Professor Wiener takes this Arabic influence down through and across Africa and finally across the Atlantic to mould pre-Columbian America. That the Muslim conquest of North Africa carried Arabic words deep into Africa is certain. But, for older relationships and connections, it is curious that the hypothesis at present current among Semitists is of a drift in quite the opposite direction. We are now told that the early Semites, and primarily the Arabs, came up with their languages and ideas out of Africa.

Against all that, however, Professor Wiener sets his face, and his demonstration consists of a series of little treatises. In an elaborate archaeological and economic study he traces the movement of cotton westward. Then follows a still more elaborate treatment of the whole history of smoking, for ritual, for medicine, and for pleasure, and of the use of tobacco. This is most interesting and suggestive, but does not seem to fit very directly into the main thesis of the book. There is, then,

a similar treatise on bead-money, cowries, etc., beginning with the 154th Chinese radical and ending with wampum. Next we have a history of the use of copper and iron, beginning with Sumerian and ending in an equation of our "smiddy", at least in its Old High German and Gothic forms, with Arabic *saṃīd*, "finely ground, smooth white flour". Smelting and grinding are apparently the same. Metal-working leads naturally to gypsies, so we have a treatise on them extending from Charlemagne to the valley of the Niger. But most fruitful of all is an equation, or combination, of fetishism and Sūfiism, which would greatly astonish the Sūfis, and which sweeps together all the ritual and vocabulary of faith and superstition from Arabia through Africa to the Caribs and America generally. Here, again, we touch tobacco as an ecstasy-producing incense. Finally comes a long treatment of Mandingo elements in Mexico, ending with the statement: "the African civilization was not transferred to America piecemeal but as an organic whole" (III, 351). *How* that came about is not made clear.

In all these treatises there are two elements, one the collection of archæological, economic, and folk-lore material, and the other the etymologies. The material is often very interesting and amusing, although it is most confusedly presented. But the present reviewer, at least, would never dream of trusting it until he had verified it, point by point, *in situ*. This is because of the distrust excited in his, it may be biased, mind by the etymologies. So far as his knowledge enables him to test Professor Wiener's philological method it is fundamentally unsound. In Arabic it is glaringly impossible. It has been said that with a little good-will one can find anything in an Arabic lexicon. Professor Wiener has a great deal of good-will.

D. B. MACDONALD.

*Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France, des Origines à la Suppression (1528-1762).* Par le P. HENRI FOUQUERAY, S.J. Tome III. *Époque de Progrès (1604-1623)*. (Paris: Bureaux des Études. 1922. Pp. xiii, 648. 32 fr.)

ALL too readily one classifies. It is natural, because it is a saving of labor, to speak of "Jesuit historiography" as if it were all one, and yet anyone familiar with the work of living historians of the Society of Jesus must feel that their individual differences are more important than their common likenesses. At their head undoubtedly stands Hartmann Grisar, who has combined vast learning and much acumen with the urbanity and candor expected of the scholar. At the other extreme stand writers like Pollen and Campbell and Karrer, whose bias, being more conspicuous than their learning, will probably arouse a prejudice against them in the minds of many readers; for most men are negatively suggestible; they revolt from the too obtrusive thesis and respond favorably only to that small class of ecclesiastical historians who can honestly say *siamo istorichi poi cristiani*.

Half-way between the consummate ability of Grisar and the obvious defects of Campbell come a number of writers valuable rather for the new sources they have explored and brought to light than for any rarer gifts of style or of philosophic understanding. Father Fouqueray, lacking literary charm and synthetic command of the larger aspects of his subject, has yet rendered a great service to scholars by his painstaking erudition and exhaustive thoroughness. His volume of 650 pages covers but nineteen years (1604-1623) of the history of the Society of Jesus in France. As he interprets his subject it includes the story of the missions to Canada and Turkey. He also throws occasional light on the foreign policy of the government, and on the annals of the Church outside of France. For Henri IV., as a patron of his order, he has nothing but high praise, even suggesting that the king was the favorite of Heaven to the point of receiving a divine premonition of his sudden death. In speaking of Marie de Médicis he is but little more reserved, and he shows us the young Louis XIII. blossoming, under the tuition of Father Coton, into a defender of the faith and a crusader against the Huguenots.

Though he calls the period treated "the epoch of progress", that is not because the Society was at this time, more than at any other, free from difficulty and opposition. A large and interesting portion of the volume sets forth the controversy over regicide following the assassination of the French monarch. The reason why the popular voice denounced the Jesuits as the teachers of Ravaillac is not mentioned by Fouqueray. It was that Mariana's book, which maintained that the murder of a tyrant was laudable, was put forth not only under his own name but with the express declaration that it was approved by learned and grave doctors of his order. Our historian labors hard to defend his society, first by proving that "the doctrine of tyrannicide was not of their invention", then by showing that Mariana's doctrine was purely theoretical, "and, so to speak, unworkable in practice", and thirdly by setting forth the vigorous repudiations of it by members of the order after 1610. The French Jesuits were finally driven to a declaration, regretted by their modern apologist, that they would agree to the doctrine of the Sorbonne even in matters relating to the Gallican Liberties. This undertaking, of February 22, 1612, highly displeased the pope.

The intervention of Cardinal Bellarmin and of James I. of England added fuel to the controversy. The royal scholar published a defense of the oath of allegiance, to which Bellarmin replied under a pseudonym in a work entitled *Responsio Matthai Torti*, which in turn led to the *Tortura Torti* of Lancelot Andrewes. Finally a Spanish Jesuit, Suarez, was deputed by the pope to set forth the correct Catholic doctrine in the premises. This was stated to be that a people had the right to depose and put to death an unjust king, but that if they were Christians they would act only on the advice of the pope. This book again made hard



the path of the Jesuits in France. But they finally overcame all opposition and attained a higher degree of influence than ever before.

PRESERVED SMITH.

*A Short History of the British Commonwealth.* By RAMSAY MUIR. Volume II. *The Modern Commonwealth (1763 to 1919).* (London: George Philip and Son, 1922; Yonkers, N. Y.: World Book Company, 1923. Pp. xxxii, 814. 15 s.)

WITH the appearance of the second volume of the *History of the British Commonwealth*, Professor Muir's conception of his task becomes more clearly apparent. He has, it is evident, designed a history of the English-speaking peoples, set in a framework of world-politics. It is a **great, even a colossal, enterprise to which he has set himself.** He has not only written a history of Great Britain, social as well as political; a history of the British Empire; a history of British foreign relations; but he has included a considerable amount of the history of the United States, and of the separate histories of the British self-governing colonies.

It is, then, evident, as it was not so apparent before, why his second volume covers "only" the period from 1763 onwards. There is no question that he has not only undertaken a great task, but that, in a sense, he has conceived a unique undertaking. He has brought together in the space of two volumes—however imposing, for they include some sixteen hundred pages—an enormous amount of material, an extraordinary collection of facts, ideas, opinions, conclusions, generalizations, and relationships, making the history of Great Britain a kind of centre of world-history for the period which it covers in a view which sweeps mankind "from China to Peru".

There will, in consequence, be two very distinct opinions in regard to his work. The one is that such a task is beyond the strength and knowledge of any man; that it is, humanly speaking, impossible. The other is that, granting this for the sake of argument, it is one which should be undertaken in the interest of the conception of world-history, if not for that of the solidarity of English-speaking peoples. It may further be pointed out that, whatever the omissions and condensations—which he himself points out and deplores in his preface—he has not only brought together here in convenient form a huge mass of facts, but he has related those facts into a new form, and so, perhaps, given a new direction and a new meaning to the "History of England" of tradition.

There is neither time nor space in a brief review to point out what seem to a reviewer slips of knowledge or opinion here and there in this stimulating volume. It is only possible to explain the apparent purpose and scope of this unusual book. But this much is clear. To those who are engaged in the teaching of this subject, to those who are interested in it as either students or "general readers", this second volume must

prove a source of inspiration and reflection. It will, in a current and not wholly pleasing, though expressive phrase, "enrich" the study of English and Imperial, if not world, history in many ways; and it may be commended to those whose knowledge and opinions of the history of Great Britain and her empire, and of the world at large, are contained in more or less separate and unconnected compartments.

*Genève et la Révolution: les Comités Provisoires, 28 Décembre 1792-13 Avril 1794.* Par MARC PETER. (Genève: Imprimerie Albert Kundig; New York: George E. Stechert and Company. 1921. Pp. xv, 577.)

M. MARC PETER is the minister of the Republic of Switzerland at Washington. Before leaving home for his diplomatic duties here about two years ago, he had completed the manuscript of the book under review—an exhaustive study, based on the archives, of the fortunes of Geneva during the period of its government by the Provisional Committees of Administration and Safety, from December, 1792, to April, 1794. Naturally, as the author recognizes, the intensive study of the fortunes of a single city for sixteen months will be of local interest chiefly; yet we readily agree with him that the native city of Rousseau, Necker, Clavière, and Étienne Dumont played a part in the great Revolution "more important than its mere size would seem to warrant". In certain ways (by its geographical situation, its economic dependence on France, its long tradition of independence, and especially its struggles in the eighteenth century for the realization of civic *égalité*) Geneva announced rather than appropriated the revolutionary ideas of its powerful neighbor. Indeed, Albert Sorel goes so far as to say in his *L'Europe et la Révolution Française* (I. 142), "C'était en effet la Révolution française qui se préparait à Genève en 1782 et se répétait pour ainsi dire en raccourci sur ce petit théâtre". The King of France intervened effectively in 1782 to check the egalitarian movement in Geneva, just as the kings of Prussia and Bohemia made the ineffective gesture of Pilsen in 1792 to check that movement in France.

Passing over the great mass of detail in regard to the domestic fortunes of Geneva under the Provisional Committees, the general student of history will find the most interesting and instructive part of M. Peter's book in the clear differentiation between the essential nature of the revolution in Geneva and that of the great Revolution in France. There were resemblances and parallels that might give the superficial observer the idea that the former was a mere incident of the latter. Geneva had its Marat in Grenus. It had its turbulent clubs like Paris. Soulavie, the "enragé" Jacobin Resident, railed at the city as the refuge of counter-revolutionaries, just as Couthon railed at Lyons. The language of manifestos, decrees, appeals, and instructions from the Committees contained the inevitable rhetoric of the latter eighteenth century. But for all that, Geneva was not drawn into the vortex of French Jacobinism.

The city resented and resisted any interference with its autonomy by its powerful neighbor from the days when Kellermann was hovering on its borders with several army corps until it was finally overmastered in the later days of the Directory. There was, says M. Peter, "no anarchy substituted for sane and legal government, no Jacobin mummeries, no ridiculous affectation of the civism of the ape and the tiger".

What distinguished the revolution in Geneva from the Revolution in France was the fact that in the former case it was the successful vindication of an inveterate attachment to popular sovereignty (interrupted by the pompous autocracy of the Syndics and the timely intervention of reactionary neighbors). The Genevese were always "vieux athlètes de la liberté". France, however, had surrendered her popular liberties into the hands of her kings, and a violent effort was needed to get them back. While, therefore, revolution prevailed in France, the Genevan movement was really an evolution. Faction ran riot in France, but the Genevan Committees sought to govern with the co-operation of all parties in the state. Nor did the Committees in Geneva attempt to prolong a dictatorial power like the French Jacobins. They encouraged the completion of the Constitution, and promptly applied it when adopted. Unfortunately, it lasted only four years.

There are a few little slips in dates. Rousseau's fête is given variously as June 22, 23, and 28 (pp. 130, 131 notes). It was on November 19, and not November 9, 1792, that the decree was adopted by the Convention pledging the aid of France to any country that would rise against its king. And it was in October, not September, 1793, that the Convention suspended the Constitution of the Year I. and made "Terror the order of the day".

DAVID S. MUZZEY.

*A History of European Diplomacy, 1815-1914.* By R. B. MOWAT, M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. (London: Edward Arnold and Company; New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1922. Pp. viii, 308. 16 s.)

MR. MOWAT aims to provide the British public with a manual like those by Debidour and Bourgeois. As he writes with an easy style, it is regrettable that he has not risen to his full opportunity. Most of the book is sound enough, although the Polish question is practically ignored, and we should gladly substitute for the names of innumerable forgotten diplomatists some general statements of the policies of the several powers. But the treatment of the period after 1871, and particularly since 1900, is unsatisfactory, for of the voluminous new material only the *Life* of Disraeli and Pribram's *Secret Treaties* have been used. Perhaps the German Foreign Office files were published too late, but Hammann and Eckardstein have long since told of the negotiations in 1898-1901 for an Anglo-German alliance, which are not even mentioned;

while the German publication *Deutschland Schuldig?* and Siebert's collection of Russian documents would have reminded Mr. Mowat that Serbia and Russia were involved in the Bosnian crisis and that Albania was an issue in 1912-1913. The Belgian despatches edited by Schwertfeger, the memoirs of Bethmann and Tirpitz, and Lord Haldane's book are ignored; likewise the Kaiser's correspondence with the Tsar. For July, 1914, there are two references to the Kautsky documents, but Professor Fay's articles are apparently unknown.

Some errors may be noted. It is misleading to say that Palmerston "openly testified the warmest sympathies with the Magyars" (p. 122), for he maintained neutrality between them and Austria till Haynau's butcheries. The Russian demands upon Turkey in 1853 were based not so much on Article 14 of the Treaty of Kainarji (p. 97), which allowed a Greek church in Constantinople, as upon Article 7, which bound the Porte to protect the Christian religion. The Schleswigers were not "to a large extent Danish" (p. 175), nor was the constitution of November, 1863, "common . . . for all the territories of the monarchy". A wrong impression is given of Austro-Italian relations in 1866 by mentioning the offer of Venetia only after Sadowa (p. 157), whereas it was made before the war and then repeated; it is not made clear that it was Austria's reference of the Schleswig-Holstein question to the Diet which precipitated the war with Prussia (p. 191). The British government did not send a "special mission" to Berlin in the scare of 1875 (p. 220), and it was the Emperor, not Bismarck, who said, "People have been trying to embroil us" (p. 221). It was not England which procured the Serbs an armistice from the Turks in September, 1876 (p. 226), but Russia in October. It is not "unknown from whom came the suggestion that Italy should join herself to the Central Powers" (p. 241), and Austria was not "bound to fight for her allies if either of them was attacked singly by France" (p. 242). The Chino-Japanese war did not break out in 1896 (p. 262), and the statement that France "was fearfully isolated before 1896" (p. 237) is refuted by the mention two pages later of the military convention signed with Russia in 1892. King Edward's visit to the Tsar at Reval occurred, not in 1907, but in 1908 (p. 273), and opinions will differ whether the agreement about Persia "gave the unhappy and chaotic country seven years of peace and quiet". The French expedition was not withdrawn from Fez in 1911 (p. 286); the Lloyd George speech of July 21 was delivered not at a Lord Mayor's banquet, but to the Bankers' Association.

The book is noteworthy for its sympathy with France, in spite of the remark that "the prevailing habit in France is to regard our statesmen as much more subtle and clever than they really are, and seldom to take what they say at its face value" (p. 79).

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

*Louis Napoleon and the Recovery of France, 1848-1856.* By F. A. SIMPSON, Fellow and Dean of Trinity College, Cambridge. (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1923. Pp. xviii, 396. 21 s.)

IN bringing out his second book on Louis Napoleon, Mr. Simpson has performed a valuable service for the students of nineteenth-century Europe. He has given us an intimate and personal view of the prince-president and emperor that has been totally lacking in other books on the Second Empire and its founder. For this work is not simply a history of France between the years 1848 and 1856, it is also a profound study of the personality and psychology of Louis Napoleon. In this respect, Mr. Simpson may be said to have followed in the footsteps of another recent biographer in nineteenth-century history, but in so doing he has happily observed scrupulously the limits of historical criticism and has not ignored the necessities of historical narrative. One could easily read Mr. Simpson's book without a previous acquaintance with the historical setting of the time. He has displayed a singular mastery in the art of combining in their proper proportions the political facts of the narrative and the purely personal story of his hero. And Louis Napoleon is a hero to Mr. Simpson, not however in the same sense in which he has been a hero to his more contemporary chroniclers. For Mr. Simpson has evidently consulted carefully all the available documentary evidence on the subject, favorable and unfavorable.

Nevertheless, there are places in the book where the author seems to have allowed his personal interest in Napoleon III. to overshadow the real judgment of history as to the third Napoleon's place in history. In his introduction the author discusses the relative importance of the first and second empires. To him the First Empire is an episode. Its victories and defeats were colossal but sterile as compared with the permanent results of the second. He deplores the practice of attributing to Napoleon I. the impetus for the nationalistic movements of the nineteenth century, declaring that "even for historians the time is approaching when it will be permissible to recognize that the most fruitful act of the First Empire was the begetting of the posthumous issue of the second", and he asserts that the Second Empire was the first régime to take seriously the idea of self-determination of nations (p. viii). While the last is undoubtedly true, surely there are other results of the first Napoleonic régime to justify its claim to at least an equality with the second! There are as well other instances where the biographer is inclined to be perhaps a little too lenient to Napoleon III. In his account of the preparations for the *coup d'état*, Mr. Simpson does not believe that the prince-president used the May Laws first as a means to conciliate his Assembly and later as an occasion for its overthrow and his own successful *coup d'état* of December, 1851. In this, he declares, there was no conscious conspiracy on the part of Louis Napoleon. Another point in favor of

Napoleon that should be noted because of its originality is the view of his early wars. Before the empire was declared in 1852, the president made his famous tour of the provinces. It was at Bordeaux that the first real mention of the empire was made by him: "L'empire, c'est la paix." Contrary to many writers, Mr. Simpson does not believe that, to the year 1856 at any rate, Napoleon ever used war as a bid for popularity. He asserts, and his argument is well supported by references to unpublished sources, that Louis Napoleon strove to remain true to the dictum *l'empire c'est la paix*. In the case of the Crimean War, he maintains the thesis that the emperor desired peace and exerted himself to the utmost to prevent a conflict (pp. 230-238). But does this argument hold for the affairs of Italy? It is somewhat disconcerting to behold this peace-loving emperor attempting to interest his reluctant guest at Boulogne, the Prince Consort, in plans for the freeing of parts of Italy and Poland at the very moment when France and England are engaged in the Crimean War that the European world undoubtedly had desired to avoid. Two generally unknown facts in regard to Napoleon's first year as president are happily related: his attempt to bring about an agreement on naval disarmament between France and England, and his efforts to hold a European congress on the subject of Europe's ills (pp. 40-41). On the other hand, Mr. Simpson is fair, he has criticism as well as words of praise for Napoleon. He avows his weakness and faults in dealing with his ministers, his error in appropriating Orleanist funds and properties, even though they were devoted to a benevolent purpose, and his strange and apparent neglect of ministry and government during the early months of the war.

Space prevents the reviewer from attempting any detailed summary of the contents of the book, but certain chapters should be mentioned as of considerable interest and value. Chapter III. gives an excellent account of the president's policy in regard to Pio Nono and the Roman Republic and offers a fair and lucid explanation of the pope's difficult position. Chapters IV. and V. relate in a very interesting and dramatic fashion the events previous and subsequent to the *coup d'état*, and the remaining chapters on the Crimean War and the Italian negotiations are admirably done.

The book is written in a thoroughly graphic and dramatic style with due regard always given to the facts of history, though here and there the style is spoiled somewhat by an attempt to pun or to use a striking phrase, as where (p. 14) the author, speaking of Louis Napoleon's German accent, relates how he had "to mind his *p*'s and *b*'s". The book is well documented, with references and notes and interesting illustrations—mostly reproductions of contemporary caricatures. In collecting his material Mr. Simpson has consulted hitherto unused sources in the Foreign Office, the collections at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the reports of the Procureurs Généraux at the Archives Nationales. There is

an interesting critical bibliography. It is a book that will be welcomed and read with interest by all students of nineteenth-century Europe.

JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

*Old Diplomacy and New, 1876-1922: from Salisbury to Lloyd-George.* By A. L. KENNEDY, M.C., with an introduction by Sir VALENTINE CHIROL. (London: John Murray, 1922; New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1923. Pp. xxii, 414. 18s.)

THIS book is not a systematic exposition of British policy, but as a commentary on men and methods it possesses considerable interest. The author—son and grandson of British diplomatists, and a correspondent of the *Times*—writes in defense of the professional diplomatist and seeks to show the unhappy results not only of the "new" diplomacy practised by Mr. Lloyd George, but also of the extreme pacifism of the Labor Party.

The ideal diplomatist was the late Lord Salisbury. He understood history, faced facts, knew what he wanted, never bluffed, avoided meddling, and had a high sense of England's honor. His realism was of the substantial kind that protects national interests and enhances national prestige. In his début at the Constantinople Conference of 1876-1877, he refused to follow the policy of the resident ambassador, with the consequences predicted by Sir Henry Elliot. Salisbury learned his lesson, and henceforth was guided by his expert advisers. Not so Mr. Lloyd George, who, obsessed by the idea that the old diplomacy had "landed us in the war", has exhibited intense distrust of diplomatists and has sought to eliminate them by relying on conferences and special agents. The results have been far from satisfactory: alienation of France, prejudice to England's honor, sacrifice of prestige and interests in the East, deception of the British people about the Kaiser and the Bolsheviks; while "Germany has not been mulcted, nor has she been rehabilitated". Mr. Lloyd George was perhaps representative of England, unsettled, unnerved, and demoralized by the war, but Salisbury always knew how to give a lead to his countrymen because he had convictions and was ready to fight for them. Midway between these two stands the tragic figure of Lord Grey, whom Mr. Kennedy admires for his poise, his fearless stand for England's honor. But he was "very ready to do anything that could honourably be done to preserve peace, except to fight for it". He should have listened to Lord Roberts rather than to Lord Haldane; instead he trusted Germany, or rather Prince Lichnowsky. Whether Mr. Kennedy's vindication of the "old" diplomacy is entirely successful may be questioned, for he assumes the virtues and ignores the dangers of economic imperialism, but his case against the "new" diplomacy is overwhelming.

For the period before 1914 no new information is purveyed, but the account of Bulgaria's entry into the war, based on confidential documents,



is illuminating, especially as to the attempt to buy King Ferdinand. The verdict that "we had some scruples—too few for honour, too many for success", is apt. Not a little light is thrown on the Russo-Polish war of 1920, as the author chanced to be in Warsaw; the analysis of British policy reveals Mr. Lloyd George at his worst, for his promises of assistance were "empty phrases".

The statements that the Bulgarians are "Slavs of Tartar origin" (p. 32) and that "the agreement of 1904 closed France's era of colonial expansion" (p. 123) are misleading. Bismarck did not propose an Anglo-German alliance in 1887 (p. 67): he then sought to disarm suspicion of Prince William, and an alliance was not proposed till 1889. The United States was at war with Austria-Hungary (p. 309). But these slips do not detract from a stimulating book which aims to prove that "the old diplomatic machinery need not be scrapped, it needs only to be brought up to date", primarily by reliance on the League of Nations. It is argued that the League has made secret treaties "absolutely useless", because any member can repudiate a treaty that has not been registered. We hope so.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

*British Colonial Policy in the XXth Century.* By HUGH EDWARD EGERTON, M.A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (London: Methuen and Company. 1922. Pp. xi, 259. 10 s. 6 d.)

A HISTORY of "colonial policy" which does but mention the Colonial Office is sufficient evidence that the British Empire during the past twenty-five years has undergone great changes. Starting with Chamberlain the plan of the work strives for unity but soon breaks up into a series of notes and quotations regarding each of the dominions. Then, as an afterthought, there follow briefly in part II. two chapters on the Government of Backward Races in Malaya and Africa. Furthermore the book practically omits the World War. This may be due to the publication of Keith's book on *The Dominions and the Empire during the War*. It may also reflect the mind of the author, who seems to cling to the idea that, in his treatment, the views of each government should be illustrated by quotation rather than that on a given subject all of the dominions thought practically alike. The result is an impression of disjointed comment.

A further tendency is perhaps best illustrated by the chapter on the Foreign Policy of Great Britain as it affected the dominions between 1900 and 1914. Here there is brief mention of those international negotiations which specifically affected the territories of the colonies; but there is conspicuous omission of other negotiations which materially contributed to the making of the situation with which all the dominions were confronted in August, 1914. In similar fashion for the period since November, 1918, there is almost no mention of mandated territories nor

of the part played by the dominions in the negotiation of peace. The net result is that foreign policy is almost neglected as a whole. Yet that subject is to the front in the minds of dominion statesmen to-day. A last comment on the situation, as presented by the author, gives a feeling almost of apprehension regarding the future of the empire. To be sure, in the very last paragraph of the book we find an expression of optimism. It is the first that we could find, and even that is qualified. "Still, our last word must be one of hope. . . . In any case, the past is assured; and it is amongst the wonders of history that from this little island there has sprung" the British Empire. The author looks to the victory of the mandatory system of the League of Nations as proof of such optimism (pp. 250-251). In short throughout the entire volume there is a record of comment which does not enliven or cheer.

Nevertheless, if such negative record must be made, there remain the positive contributions for which all students must be grateful. These consist first of all in the fashion by which the speeches of the dominion leaders have been skillfully searched for quotation. One can gain almost a synopsis of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's philosophy of politics in the extracts made. Much the same is true of others. The life of dominion politics is made to course through the book, giving vigor and variety to the entire narrative. In the second place there are the useful chapters on the government of the backward races. Here is the record of patient achievement and of the building of a method of life which is "the outcome of a well-organized system of family and social relations" (p. 228). In the third place is the evident emphasis laid on the essential co-operation of the dominions. It is perhaps doubtful if the author sufficiently appreciates the strong national tendencies which at present dominate in Canada. Nevertheless, he does well in his chapter on Partnership or Separation to plead for greater measures of unity. Imperial unity has passed the time when projects for its improvement can come from Great Britain. The initiative along these lines must now come from the dominions. It is an open question whether the plan of Canadian diplomatic representation should be dismissed in such harsh terms. Certainly, however, the principle of closer co-operation between the dominions and the empire deserves all that may be said for it.

The British Empire is a mysterious body politic. The development of its history during even a quarter of a century requires frequent adjustment. This in itself is evidence of its vitality. At present we seem to have reached one of those stages when everyone is talking of further changes which seem to lie just around the corner; and certainly this book is a welcome contribution by a distinguished author to the history of the period.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

*Un Livre Noir: Diplomatie d'Avant-Guerre d'après les Documents des Archives Russes, Novembre 1910-Juillet 1914.* Préface par RENÉ MARCHAND. Tome second. (Paris: Librairie du Travail, 1923. Pp. xxiii, 591. 20 fr.)

THE second volume of the book of R. Marchand is just as interesting and valuable for a historian as was the first, published a year ago. The source of the material is the same—the Russian archives, where the author had a free hand to rummage at leisure. There is however a certain lack of system in this volume, that can be irritating to the professional historian. Marchand keeps, as in his first volume, to the chronological order of documents; in some places there are evident gaps; moreover, in the appendix there are a number of additional despatches that have to be classified separately. All this makes the perusal of the volume a rather difficult task.

The main mass of material concerns the correspondence of the Russian Foreign Office with their ambassador in Paris; the telegrams and letters of A. P. Izvolski are very interesting and valuable for the right appreciation of the policy of the Russian government during those fateful years preceding the Great War. Most amusing is the picture Izvolski gives us of some French statesmen; opinions might differ very much as to the ambassador's policies, but no one will deny, after reading this volume, that he had a wonderful power of observation and knew quite well the characters of the men he had to deal with in Paris. There is however one strange element in the activities of the statesmen of those days, apparent especially in Izvolski's secret letters, which never were meant for publication, namely, that while Russia was trying to extend her claims and aspirations in the Near East, her ally, France, was making every effort to keep her in leash and to dissuade the Russian statesmen from pressing their claims too much on the weakening Ottoman Empire. Russia's doings in Turkey were a source of great anxiety for the Frenchmen. In the Russian position, of course, there is nothing new; it was not the first time that the Tsar's government chose an opportune moment of Turkish weakness to spread Russian influence over Near Eastern territories and matters. But on the other side we find new light thrown on the pre-war attitude of France, strangely but constantly connected with one big name: Poincaré, Pichon, Barthou, and many other familiar names are frequently mentioned, but none seems to have played any such prominent rôle in the building up and strengthening of the Franco-Russian alliance as Poincaré; and besides, with a very evident object—steady preparation for the coming conflict with Germany. The reader will put aside this volume with the inevitable conviction that Poincaré long before 1914 had one idea on his mind, the war with Germany. And of course his plans required that Russia should be able to act very energetically; hence, the French did not want Russia either to spend herself in the East, or to call forth any conflict that would bring

about troubles or hasten the clash with Germany at a wrong moment. In the middle of the volume there is published a report of Kokovtsev and some other correspondence concerning a Russian loan that the Tsar's ministers wanted to float in Paris. These documents give a most vivid picture of the French pressure exerted on Russia with that one object in view, a war with Germany. At times the Russians were even losing patience with the French, so little did the latter mind the Russian interests; they were willing to give the money, but only on condition that Russia would increase her army and build new strategic, but otherwise quite useless, railways.

The correspondence from London is the weakest part of the volume; most of it is known already and published on a better system in the Siebert volume. On the other hand, the reports of Sazonov to the Tsar on the general political situation and on personal interviews he had abroad are most instructive. In the last part of the book the reader will find some new details concerning Russian policy in the Near East and the Chinese loan of 1912. It is interesting to note that in the discussion of the Turkish question there appears already the name of Chester; the Russians seem to have considered his claims favorably, with the exception of the Sivas railway, which they wanted for themselves. We may repeat, that for the modern history of Eastern Europe both volumes of Marchand will always remain a valuable source of information.

S. A. KORFF.

*Memories of a Turkish Statesman, 1913-1919.* By DJEMAL PASHA, formerly Governor of Constantinople, Imperial Ottoman Naval Minister, and Commander of the Fourth Army in Sinai, Palestine, and Syria. (London: Hutchinson; New York: George H. Doran Company. 1922. Pp. 302. 18 s.)

DJEMAL PASHA played a great rôle in the government of the Young Turks; he was one of the four leading figures, sharing the responsibility with the better known men, Talaat and Enver; the fourth man in this group was Djavid, their financial expert. Sad memories are left behind them, though in 1908, when they first came to power, the whole world hailed them with great enthusiasm, as the liberators of Turkey, who succeeded in deposing the bloody Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid. The memoirs of such a statesman, consequently, have a decided historical value; it is interesting to hear his side of the story, no matter how prejudiced and partial the author might be. Unfortunately in some places of his narrative Djemal becomes very bitter and personal, especially in citing Morgenthau and Mandelstam, the two best known critics of the Young Turk régime. The volume of these memoirs can be divided into two uneven parts: the first concerns the Great War and its antecedents, the second relates to the Asia Minor campaign, when Djemal commanded the Turkish troops fighting against the English. The last chapter of the book

deals with the Armenian question and contains an extremely weak apology for the misdeeds of the Turkish government. Djemal cannot deny the terrible massacres, but his arguments of justification and explanation seem utterly inadequate; they only help to prove how absolutely impossible the Turkish rule over Christian and non-Mussulman minorities always was and will be, whatever party should come to power or whatever its intentions might be. There is little that is new in the second half of the volume; most of it deals with the purely military events. In the first part of the book the reader will find, on the contrary, some interesting additions to the history of the origins and sources of the Great War. The first chapter, devoted to the time when Djemal was governor of Constantinople, just before the war broke out, is interesting because of the light it throws on the author himself; it reveals his ruthlessness toward political enemies, his readiness to resort to any means, and willingness to take the responsibility for all such measures. He is responsible for the policy of the Young Turks no less than his more famous colleagues Talaat and Enver; the interesting psychological fact is that Djemal does not shirk this responsibility. Chapters II. and III. are the most important in the book, giving us many interesting details about the political and diplomatic transactions of the Turkish government. Djemal's story begins with the marvellous recovery of Adrianople in 1913, when Turkey succeeded, after the second Balkan war, in getting back much of the previously lost territory and in making tentative arrangements with the Bulgars for mutual assistance. In this last respect, the project of an agreement between Turkey and Bulgaria amounted to nothing less than an "offensive and defensive alliance", as Djemal frankly admits (pp. 52 ff.). The Bulgars, however, began to hesitate at the last moment, making the transactions drag out indefinitely. Then follows the narrative concerning the German mission, that so much **alarmed the other powers, the arrival in Constantinople of General Liman von Sanders** and the beginning of negotiations for a German-Turkish understanding. Djemal is never tired of repeating that the main enemy was always Russia; the Young Turks cannot forgive the English for having suddenly changed their front and made friends with their greatest enemies, the Russians. Here is the only explanation, from Djemal's point of view, of Turkey's friendship with Germany; it is interesting to note that at that time even some Englishmen could not appreciate the real meaning of this sudden and drastic change of policy of the British government. Djemal quotes, for instance, a rather piquant incident with the English admiral, Limpus, who continued to advise the Turkish government, while the German negotiations were already well started and England had the Russian Entente on her hands, whereas Limpus was still giving his advice against Russia! Djemal goes to some length in explaining that the Turks first asked France for assistance and only after the failure of this attempt turned toward the Germans. By the time war broke out the alliance with Germany was an accomplished fact,

but as Turkey was not ready with her army, the Turkish government endeavored to keep up for several weeks a sham neutrality until at last the Germans practically forced her into the war, by deliberately planning and carrying out naval attacks against the Russians in the Black Sea. It was the *Göeben* and the *Breslau*, under the German admiral Souchon, which brought about this result, against the wish of the Turks. The latter, probably, would have been content to drag out their false neutrality for many months longer. It did not consort with the German plans, however, and thus Turkey became the adjunct of the Teuton powers.

S. A. KORFF.

*Seaborne Trade. Volume II. From the Opening of the Submarine Campaign to the Appointment of the Shipping Controller.* By C. ERNEST FAYLE. [History of the Great War based on Official Documents, by direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence.] London: John Murray; New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1923. Pp. xv, 424, 21 s.)

IN calling attention to the appearance of the second volume of this work, the opportunity should not be missed to remind readers that it is one of the admirable results of the formation of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence, which the British authorities had the foresight to organize during the early part of the World War, thus offering an excellent example which our own government, to its disgrace, has completely neglected. In the United States the task of gathering and tabulating facts and figures connected with the Great War has been left to individuals or groups appointed by the several governmental departments, miserably undermanned and working with little or no co-operation. The publications of these American historical sections, while in many cases (though not all) excellent, have not, as in the case of the British Historical Section, been produced in accordance with a general plan, and are therefore far less valuable to the historian.

The maritime portion of the British organization was placed under the eminent naval historian, Sir Julian Corbett, who produced a work in three volumes (the third volume is about to appear) describing the actual war activities of the Royal Navy under the title *Naval Operations*. This work is supplemented by a second, *The Merchant Navy*, by Mr. Archibald Hurd, in several volumes, one of which has already been published.

The third author in this admirable triumvirate is Mr. C. Ernest Fayle, whose task is to show how, and with what success, British shipping and British commerce adapted themselves to the requirements of a situation which imposed serious and unforeseen demands upon them, in order to meet entirely new difficulties and dangers. It is also his object "to trace the gradual growth and effects of State intervention, from the

first tentative experiments in freight and price restriction, to the later efforts to grapple with the root problem, by acceleration of construction, acceleration of turn-round, co-ordination of British and Allied demands, control of neutral shipping, and adjustment of demand to supply by the exclusion of unessential imports". This difficult and important task is the subject of Mr. Fayle's really extraordinary work, the second volume of which we are now noticing, the first having been already reviewed in this *Revue* (XXVI. 531).

The present volume covers the history of British seaborne trade from the outbreak of the submarine campaign against merchant shipping, in February, 1915, to December, 1916. A third volume will complete the record. The author shows both the effect of the submarine campaign on seaborne trade and the measures taken to keep open the ocean lanes for the importing of essential supplies, as well as how the ships necessary for this task were provided. It must not be forgotten that the carrying power of Great Britain was nothing less than vitally important to the success of the Allied arms, since without it neither France nor Russia nor Italy, deprived of the necessary munitions, material, food, and fuel, could have continued the struggle for longer than a few months. The spectacular results of the submarine campaign, that is, the actual losses dealt by it to British shipping, tend to blind us to the almost as important loss of carrying power arising from the redistribution of trade, deviations, port delays, and the general dislocation of economic effort. Modern war cannot be understood without a complete knowledge of all the economic problems and situations upon which absolutely depends the whole field of logistics, in a word everything that makes actual offense possible. It is for this reason that Mr. Fayle's work is of the highest importance. It is a monument to the fact that, from now on, war must be carried on by an entire people, civilian as well as military.

Statistical detail in this book has rightly been cut down to the minimum necessary to justify the statements made in the narrative, the result being that, while facts and figures are well substantiated, the work is very far from being dry reading. It is provided with two folding outline maps and a good index. Mr. Fayle announces that the third and last volume of his book is practically finished.

EDWARD BRECK.

*Le Bolchevisme et l'Islam.* I. *Les Organisations Soviétiques de la Russie Musulmane*, par JOSEPH CASTAGNÉ. II. *Hors de Russie. [Revue du Monde Musulman, publiée par la Mission Scientifique du Maroc de 1907-1921, vols. LI., LII.]* (Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1922. Pp. xvii, 254; xiii, 254.)

It is well known what efforts Bolshevik emissaries have made to affect the Moslem world and also that different parts of the Moslem



world, even outside of the political sphere of Russia, have been deeply interested in the fact of the Russian Revolution and in the ideas which lie behind it. This last attitude is very intelligible. The entire Orient at the present time is suffering under what is at least a *malaise*, rising at times to actual nervous crises. It feels the continued incubus of the West upon it as it has not felt that pressure for long, and it is looking round for any possible deliverer. For half a century at least this situation has been chronic, but the war has made it acute. Behind it lies a deep recognition of difference between the West and the East, a difference that continues to weigh as an obsession even when western benefits to the East are fully recognized. For a further development of this fundamental present situation I venture to refer to my article in the *Yale Review* for January, on "The Near East Tangle". Yet in this opposition of East to West the East has always recognized that Russia was closely akin to itself—belonged, in fact, to the East. Orientals might not greatly trust the Russians, might quite specifically distrust them, but still they were of their own kind and they could and did mix with them on equal terms. This held even in the still sharper contrast of Islam and Christendom, especially after Russia had abandoned the effort to make its Moslem subjects Orthodox Christians, as well as loyal Russians, and had recognized that they must be allowed to follow their own linguistic and social forms of life.

The reactions, then, of the different Moslem communities, both inside and outside of Russia, to the Bolshevik ideas and discipline are of the highest value and suggestion for the nature both of Bolshevism and of Islam. And the collection of materials on that subject, published in these two volumes—carefully kept down to such a collection, framed in an irreducible minimum of statement—is full of light on the recent history of parts of the world still in obscurity even for professed Orientalists. The first part of the first volume is a general study of the coming of Bolshevism as it affected Russian Moslems and was received by them. Almost immediately the problem of Moslem particularism *versus* communism was raised. Islam is a state-system quite as much as a religion; Moslems are delighted to be free, but freedom has little meaning for them if it involves co-citizenship with non-Moslems. Moslems, too, are individualists to a degree, both religiously and economically; in their history we see the paradox working of acceptance of an agreement reached by an automatic consensus of individual judgments and yet the preservation of these individual rights of judgment. So they thought that the revolution meant local autonomy and they found that the old centralization in Moscow still held. There follow historical and constitutional sketches of the different Moslem "republics"—those of the Caucasus, of Azerbaijan, of Batum, of the Tatars of Kazan, of the Crimea, of the Bashkirs, of the Kirghizes, of the Turkomans, of Khiva, Bukhara, and Turkestan generally. In each, history ran the same course: joyous revolt, driving out of the old government, autonomy. Then came

the grip of Sovietic centralization with commissars appointed from Moscow. Then uprisings against these, with varying success, and, finally, for the present, crushings under Red armies. The details varied with the economic and racial character of the population in each district. Mountain tribes tended to hold their own; city proletariats, as in Baku, went over solidly to communism; the scattered tribes of remoter Turkestan are still unsubdued. Yet, amid all the destruction, the economic exploitation by Russian speculators has ceased and local autonomy has increased; the soil is again in the hands of the indigenous populations. That Bolshevism can neither assimilate nor permanently affect Islam is becoming evident. The two reasons in the nature of Islam are working themselves out; it is within a ring-fence of its own and a Moslem state is a church functioning as a state.

The second volume deals with the Bolshevik propaganda addressed to Islam outside of Russia. First, the attitude of the Russian emigration—both that under the Tsars and that under the Bolsheviks—on its Moslem side. This is broken, impotent and idealistic. Second, communism in the Dutch East Indies; there, if anywhere in Islam, it has secured a hold because of the unity of the population. Third, in Persia; there the working has largely been political, arising out of the Anglo-Russian conflict, in which the Bolsheviks have inherited the Russian tradition. Of course, there are also the complications of an agrarian question, workmen's unions, and the omnipresent oil. Fourth, the relations between the Russian government and the Turkish government at Angora; they are pure opportunists on both sides and any fixed alliance would be in the teeth of their historical attitudes and of their religious and economic principles. A glance is cast at the communist movement among the Moslems of British India; the racial confusions there, as contrasted with the Dutch East Indies, are so great that its progress has been very slow. Finally, there is an interesting biographical appendix on the parts played in and since the Paris Commune by individual Orientals and Orientalists in communistic propaganda. These were evidently born adventurers and wanderers of one kind or another—soldiers of fortune, travellers, linguists, newspaper men. There are seven sketch-maps and a few other illustrations. As a picture of the present situation these volumes cannot be too highly recommended.

D. B. MACDONALD.

*The Western Question in Greece and Turkey: a Study in the Contact of Civilisations.* By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. (London: Constable; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1922. Pp. xv, 420. 18s.)

AMONG the efforts which have been made in recent years to satisfy the desires of the reading public for an explanation of the course of events in the Near East, some have been based upon too scanty knowl-

edge, while others have been seriously vitiated by a blind and unreasoned bias in favor of or against some particular nation or religion. Nor have books been lacking which were founded upon deliberate propagandist intentions in which a desire to display the exact truth played little part. It is distinctly refreshing to find a discussion which may rightly be criticized from none of these points of view. Professor Toynbee is a man of scholarly disposition, trained in historical method, experienced during the recent Great War in some of the motives and methods of Western diplomacy, acquainted by years of historical study with the past history of the Near East, and made aware of immediate present conditions by several months of travel and inquiry on the spot. Some persons may affirm that he has fallen into error in a usual way by becoming a partizan of Turkey. A juster estimate would be that having been originally somewhat prejudiced in favor of Greece, from his reading and conversations, he found upon personal investigation that many current beliefs in the West in regard to Greece and Turkey contain an admixture of error which has exalted the position of Greece unduly; therefore Professor Toynbee is obliged to say more things in favor of Turkey than of Greece, while at heart he maintains the absolutely impartial and unbiassed attitude of seeking the exact truth.

As indicated in the subtitle of the book, the author considers his task to be at foundation a study of the interaction of civilizations, of which the national organizations known as Greece and Turkey, England and France, etc., are representative. He uses the phrases Near Eastern and Middle Eastern civilizations to indicate in the one case what might be called Greek Orthodox Christendom and in the other case Islam. These, regarded as parallel and rival entities, are confronted by Western civilization, which is regarded as a unit, independently from its internal differences of a religious or political character. It is pointed out that the Near Eastern and Middle Eastern civilizations broke down successively because of internal weaknesses. Some 250 years ago the West began to act markedly upon the former and only about 150 years ago upon the latter. The former has had to a far greater degree the sympathy of the West, but the latter also has been profoundly influenced by it. The two are fighting each other with weapons which have been both literally and figuratively derived from the West. Each has its own place, and the proper attitude for the West is to assist both toward stability and progress and not to support either in attempts to dominate the other by force. The West has been far too indifferent as regards all non-western societies.

Professor Toynbee has a remarkable faculty for clear discernment of the inner meaning of situations and for exact effective expression. His style of narration avoids the stilted chronological form. In this he is aided by the fact that he is not primarily interested in direct narrative, but rather in the interpretation of events in the light of his main thesis of the contact of civilizations. So far as the book is a connected his-

tory, it deals in detail with the period in the relations of Greece and Turkey which began with the occupation of Smyrna by the Greeks, May 15, 1919. At various points, however, in order to explain current situations, the writer carries the story back even as far as ancient times.

Professor Toynbee is thoroughly convinced that the authorization of this occupation by the Big Three at Paris was a great mistake, which gave to current Turkish nationalism all its strength. The West should not have tried to support the Near East against the Middle East. There was a distinctly false identification of Greece with the West and progress, and of Turkey with the East and stagnation. The ordinary contrasts of Christianity and Islam, and of Europe and Asia, and of civilization and barbarism, especially as applied to these two countries, he holds to be invalid. The reasons he advances are cogent and his positions are illustrated abundantly from recent events (pp. 328 ff.).

The judgments which he passes upon important personalities are vivid and interesting, as, for example, upon Mr. Lloyd George, M. Venizelos, M. Sterghiadis, and Mustapha Kemal Pasha. Professor Toynbee may be regarded as the foremost living authority on the subject of atrocities, after his investigations of those in Armenia and Belgium during the recent war. He was able to witness in Anatolia a considerable number as perpetrated by the Greeks. He is unable to affirm that the Turks are in this respect at all more culpable than the Greeks. In fact he is inclined to charge the whole matter of atrocities rather to conditions than to character. He believes that they recur naturally when nationalities are intermixed (p. 16), and when minorities are supported from outside, under the condition of instability of frontiers (pp. 259 ff.). Strange to say, he does not regard any Near Eastern people as inherently prone to commit atrocities.

The best test of the general justice of Professor Toynbee's conclusions is that, though the book was written a year ago, there is nothing in the events since which involves a need of revision. He practically predicted the expulsion of the Greeks from Anatolia by the Turks, and the compulsory exchange of population which has followed (p. 147). It would be very interesting if his advice should be followed as between the Greeks and Turks, to the effect that, since their interests are parallel and common rather than separate and antagonistic, they should endeavor to reach an understanding. In fact he comes near to recommending that they should combine to a certain extent to resist the encroachments of the West. He has little sympathy for the enforcement by the West of its ways upon the Near Orient, and he believes that ultimately the non-western peoples of the world will recover their self-direction.

Points in the book to which exceptions might be made are the adoption of the theory of climatic variation as a highly influential historical source (p. 340), and the omission, from the reasons which led Mr. Lloyd George to back Greece, of the general attitude of the British government under his administration, in which was shown a fear of the increase of

Slavic power in Europe (p. 74). When this statesman's actions toward restricting the access of Poland, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria to the sea are taken into consideration, as well as the more recent moves of Britain toward keeping the straits open for her fleet, it seems probable that he believed it would be possible to erect Greece, as supported by Britain, into that buffer state against the recovery of Russia which during two or three generations had been embodied in Turkey. It conveys an exaggerated impression to say that the Ottoman conquests in southeastern Europe before 1500 A.D. "were largely made at the expense of French and Italian rulers" (p. 116). The beginnings of the Ottoman deportation of Greeks in the spring of 1916 cannot have been caused by the setting up of M. Venizelos's new government at Salonika in October of that year (pp. 142, 365).

Errors of historical fact appear to be practically non-existent in this book. Some errors of observation charged upon Mr. Toynbee by the Greeks are discussed by him in various notes and appendixes. The book concludes with a table of dates, reciting events from November 5, 1914, to March 26, 1922, and a list of books subdivided according to the subjects and chapters of the text. The writer did not attempt to enumerate items in a vast mass of appropriate primary material.

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*Records of the Moravians in North Carolina.* Edited by ADELAIDE L. FRIES, M.A., Archivist of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province. Volume I., 1752-1771. [Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.] (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, State Printers. 1922. Pp. 511.)

THIS well printed and illustrated volume of records from the archives of the United Brethren in North Carolina is more than a mere collection of historical materials. To be sure, that alone would have been a contribution, in view of the importance of the carefully preserved archives of the principal settlement of the "Unitas Fratrum" in the South. But the materials are so well selected, translated, and edited, that the volume, eminently readable, becomes a valuable record of human experience.

The pioneers of Bethabara-Bethania-Salem were not spared any of the hardships of frontier life—hard labor and scant supplies, ravages of typhus and other fevers, Indian wars, factional hostilities between "regulators" and legitimate representatives of the law. A miracle indeed, that they were not ground to pieces between the conflicting elements, as were so many of the non-resistant groups contemporaneously in other American colonies and throughout the war-ridden world. A dove among

vultures seeking prey, the settlement remained true to its message of peace. If there is in the national heart of America something opposing her own Roman imperialism, a deep-seated longing to become a peace-bringer to the world, that tendency is due to such examples as Wachovia in her own colonial history.

**The Unity of Brothers in the Wachovia district**, through tact, good leadership, and real service established themselves in the good-will and gratitude of their fellow pioneers. We read how Brother Kalberlahn extends his medical aid to distant settlements, that a house is built to harbor the numerous sick persons brought to him for treatment, that a garden is planted with healing medicinal herbs. Skins are brought from neighboring settlers to be fashioned into clothing by the Moravian tailor, and the potter is compelled to bake clay a third time to meet the growing demand for earthen vessels, while the gristmills and sawmills are busy all the year round. Not the least attraction was the "Fremden-Stunde", a religious service held in English, especially planned for visitors; and far-famed even in the early days was the Easter service, and the vocal and instrumental music.

The annual register of guests was at least four times as long as the list of members, and included conspicuous names, among them Governor Tryon, his wife, and retinue. Friend and foe went in and out, and never departed hungry, as is illustrated by the oft-quoted description of Bethabara by the three hundred Cherokees who passed through on their way to the Ohio—"The Dutch fort, where there are good people and much bread". At another time, when the Cherokees were hostile and palisades had been set up to defend the settlement, they reported that they had seen a great town, where there were a great many people, and a great bell rang often, and during the night, time after time, a horn was blown, so that they feared to attack the town, and made no prisoners. At this period Bethabara harbored a large number of refugees from neighboring settlements.

The "Memorabilia" (*Kirchen-Buch*), prepared by the minister, and read by him at the closing service of the year, furnish us with a summary of the notable events of the year. Preceding these, the Diary of Bishop Spangenberg gives us a detailed account of his search for and survey of the 100,000 acres selected for settlement, September, 1752-January, 1753. There are also the church diaries, with entries day by day, likewise prepared by the ministers (not printed in their entirety), which give us an unsurpassed view of the daily duties of the pioneers and also of the religious life of the brethren. Lastly diaries of individuals are included, as that of the "Doctor", with its romance and tragedy, the Travel Diary (1762) of a sea and river trip from Philadelphia to the Cape Fear River, or the diary of the surveyor Reuter, interesting for its human and religious experiences.

The editor has given us but the first volume of the records to be published from the Moravian archives. It is to be hoped that the successful

beginning will encourage her to overcome readily the difficulties and laboriousness of the work yet remaining.

ALBERT B. FAUST.

*The Papers of Sir William Johnson.* Prepared for publication by the Division of Archives and History, JAMES SULLIVAN, Ph.D., Director and State Historian. Volumes I. to III. (Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-1922. Pp. li, 931; xv, 900; xiv, 997. \$7.50.)

If we except the periods of actual warfare and the military leaders, there was scarcely any official in British North America before the united opposition leading to the Revolution who exercised so important an influence over so large a part of North America as Sir William Johnson, sole superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern colonies. From the point of view of economic development and of international relations particularly, it would be no exaggeration to say that the permanent intermediary between the whites and the Iroquois, negotiator of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, probably had a greater influence on the destinies of this continent from 1755 to 1770 than any other single American of that time. In that period our one line of communication with the great West lay through the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk and by way of the lakes. It must be kept open or the vast interior of America might be lost, but it passed directly through the country of the Six Nations and it was exposed through most of its length to a flank attack by the French and their Indians. It was these two facts that had made Albany for generations the centre of all important negotiations with the Indians, for the northern colonies at least, even at a time when these negotiations were in the hands of the incompetent Albany commissioners. The critical character of Indian relations at the time of the French and Indian War made a change necessary, and these relations in the north were entrusted to Colonel William Johnson, while John Stuart was made superintendent for the southern colonies. But for geographical and other reasons the office of southern superintendent never came to have the great importance of that in the north.

As sole superintendent for the north, Johnson was responsible for the most important Indian negotiations, and to him no doubt mainly belongs the credit of holding the wavering Six Nations to the side of the English at a time when their defection would have been almost fatal to the English cause. With the return of peace and beginning of the great westward movement of the whites, a problem hardly less difficult had to be met in preventing the encroachment of the settler upon the Indian hunting-grounds from destroying the fur trade and antagonizing the natives, without at the same time unduly checking the occupying of the tillable land. The insatiable land-hunger of the settlers made possible only one outcome, of course, but the government which Johnson served



was even more interested in a trade which required a wilderness for its continuance, and hence upon Johnson fell the difficult task of reconciling, temporarily at least, these conflicting demands. Added to these was the troublesome problem of the cutthroat competition of the Indian traders themselves and the unspeakable abuses in their treatment of the natives. These problems had troubled the administrators for years in Canada as well as in the English colonies, and now upon Johnson fell the burden of both.

Johnson's service as superintendent began in 1755 and continued to his death in 1774. The bulk of the papers of which these three volumes are a first installment consist of letters to and from Johnson—chiefly in regard to the matters just mentioned, together with some minutes of Indian conferences and some papers on military affairs, particularly the expedition against Crown Point in 1755, of which Johnson was commander-in-chief, and a few of a more private nature.

If Parkman is right in saying that the struggle between England and France for this continent is the most momentous it has ever known, it would be hard to name any man of our colonial period whose official papers are more important for the historian than those of Sir William Johnson, and a study of them shows that Johnson, if not a great man, was a very able one. Though probably not in the very first rank of eighteenth-century Americans, he was only a little below it.

Up to the year 1911 there were in the State Library at Albany twenty-six volumes of the Johnson manuscripts, consisting of between six and seven thousand separate papers written between 1738 and 1808, but mainly from 1745 to Johnson's death in 1774. Of these less than half survived the fire, and many of those surviving remained legible only in part. Many had been printed before that time in the *New York Colonial Documents*, in Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of New York*, and elsewhere, and a great number of the originals were in the Public Record Office in London. In addition to these Hugh Hastings, former state historian of New York, had transcripts made of a part of the papers, but unfortunately not with the accuracy that modern historical scholarship demands. With the aid of these and the excellent calendar of Dr. Richard E. Day, published in 1909, the great gaps and omissions in the surviving manuscripts have been filled so far as they ever can be, and we have in these three volumes probably about all that can ever be recovered of the papers of Sir William Johnson from 1738 to 1762.

The difficulty of the editors' work can be appreciated only by one who has worked in these manuscripts both before and after the fire of 1911. It was a work requiring an extensive search for existing materials and a nice discrimination in their use, on account of their variety and uneven merit and of the bad condition of the manuscripts. Credit for the excellence of this edition, under such difficult conditions, belongs as well to Mr. Van Laer, the archivist whose skill has saved from utter

loss what remains of the manuscripts, as to Mr. Paltsits and Mr. Holden, who began and carried partly through the work of preparation for the press. But the scholarly character of the work in its finished form is no doubt very largely due to its present editor, Dr. James Sullivan, the present state historian of New York. In fact every requirement of modern scholarship seems to be met in the care with which these papers are transcribed and in the way in which their varied sources are distinguished and indicated for the use of future historians.

It is a cause of gratification to historians that papers of such fundamental importance have at last been edited in a manner fully worthy of them, but this feeling will always be tempered with disappointment that this could not have been done before the irreparable losses in the fire of 1911.

C. H. McILWAIN.

*The Foundations of American Nationality.* By EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, Professor of History in the University of Illinois. [*A Short History of the American People*, vol. I.] (New York and Chicago: American Book Company. 1922. Pp. xii, 614, xl. \$2.60.)

PROFESSOR GREENE'S treatise is the first work written in text-book form that adequately represents the "new learning" in colonial history. It not only states the colonial case fairly, but leaves the distinct impression on the mind of the reader that the writing of colonial history is a progressive organic process and not in that state of petrification which characterized it twenty-five years ago. The book is therefore different in content and spirit from the older text-books of the conventional type. In its method of presentation—the knitting together of all parts of the subject into a readable whole—it reaches a high level of historical treatment, and can be read by the public at large with enlightenment and profit, for it presents the truth of the colonial story as nearly as it is possible to do at the present time. The work improves as it advances and attains to a breadth of vision and spaciousness of view that are refreshing after the limitations of the older narrow and contracted version. The author brings us into touch with large issues, which he handles with regard to their relations with the surrounding world, and in consequence has produced a book—rare in our colonial literature—which a foreigner can read with interest and attention.

Professor Greene appreciates the fact that our history as a people begins, not with the explorers and the aborigines, but with the old world from which the colonists came and with which they were in more or less frequent contact throughout our entire colonial period. From the old world to the new and from the older new to the newer new, even on into the period after the Revolution, he traces the handing on of ideas and institutions and their adaptation to new circumstances and condi-

tions. His method of treatment is comparative and therefore expansive and even international. The colonies are not treated as separate entities; the area of the Old Thirteen is not dealt with in isolation; New England is not overemphasized; the South is no longer merely a "neighbor" of Virginia; and the West Indies are not lost to sight below the horizon. The Old World, the Atlantic basin, the coast of Africa, as well as the new West and the migrations thereto, are all brought well within the focus of the picture. The treatment is fair, well balanced, and accurate; a careful reading has brought together but a small sheaf of errors. All racial and sectional elements are weighed and their importance determined without prejudice; the religious factors are specified and treated with unusual fullness; personalities are not intruded unduly; and overlaudation is conspicuous by its absence. The writer's sympathies are naturally with his own country, and he "has felt justified in emphasizing those aspects of colonial experience which seem most significant for the subsequent development of the American nation"; but there is no attempt to be "patriotic" merely for patriotism's sake or to twist the facts to satisfy anybody's pride. Professor Greene deems it no part of the historian's business to defend or palliate measures of any kind, either British or colonial, and he wastes no space in efforts at justification or condemnation. Probably the politician and the after-dinner speaker will wish that he had "seen red" more often and it may be that the literary epicure will wish more spice with his meat, but happily the spirit of frenzy is foreign to the purpose of the work and in such a treatise there is no place for mere dexterity, smartness, and epigram. Finally, Professor Greene has mingled in proper proportions other features of history than the political—the commercial, industrial, and social. No chapters are specially assigned to these topics, but they are treated as integral parts of every chapter, taking their place naturally in the development of the subject.

The book is the work of a scholar, mentally alert, open-minded, and progressive, and its contents, though not presented in a manner that is particularly graphic or dramatically exciting, are admirable in the sanity and good sense which they exhibit and in the close approximation which they attain to the ultimate truth of our early history.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

*The Declaration of Independence: a Study in the History of Political Ideas.* By CARL BECKER, Professor of History in Cornell University. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1922. Pp. ix, 286. \$2.50.)

PROFESSOR BECKER adds to admirable technique in the art of book writing a mastery of the apparatus of historical scholarship and a grasp of the subject-matter under discussion which together make *The Declaration of Independence* a model history of its kind. The book is charac-

terized by an attractive literary style well adapted to the particular problem of historical exposition which the subject presents, by commendable self-restraint in the omission of unnecessary detail, by skillful marshalling of the facts necessary to establish his conclusions, and by sound and closely reasoned deductions from these facts. There is a refreshing absence of dogmatism. The author does not even feel it incumbent upon him to pass judgment upon the truth or falseness of the doctrine of natural rights which forms the central theme of his history. In fact he asserts that the question is essentially meaningless and unprofitable for the historian to discuss.

Four of the six chapters of the volume adhere closely to the thesis as expressed in the subtitle *A Study in the History of Political Ideas*. The fourth chapter, Drafting the Declaration, and the fifth, the Literary Qualities of the Declaration, mar somewhat the logical unity of the work by a digression from the central theme. This venial offense is more than offset by the scholarly, and one may believe definitive, account of the making of the Declaration as a document, contained in chapter IV., and by the charming critical essay on the literary qualities of the Declaration which constitutes chapter V.

The first chapter contains a thoughtful and convincing analysis of the Declaration of Independence. Professor Becker emphasizes the careful adherence of the authors to the main purpose of the document, which was to justify to the world the decision made on July 2. He calls attention to the striking fact that Parliament is not once mentioned, although for ten years the Acts of Parliament had been the chief object of colonial animadversion and the position and powers of Parliament in the British system of government had been a leading subject of constitutional discussion in the colonies; also that the infractions of the rights of Americans as British subjects are not referred to, although they were the stock complaints of the pre-Revolutionary period. These significant omissions, the author contends, were the result of a desire to maintain consistency with the compact theory and not primarily to avoid the difficulties of defending a weak constitutional position.

The second chapter gives an admirable account of the historical growth of the political philosophy of the Revolution, while the third traces the struggle in the colonies between the doctrine of the restrictive interpretation of the British constitution and that of natural rights for the privilege of defending the rights and liberties of the colonists and shows how and why the latter emerged victorious from the conflict.

The last chapter contains a fresh and valuable treatment of the aftermath of the Revolutionary political philosophy. In it Professor Becker traces with a sure touch the reactions and responses of later European and American thought to the theory of natural rights. He shows the modifications of the eighteenth-century conception of natural right and higher law which sectionalism, nationalism, and industrialism have favored in the nineteenth century.

But the space allotted to this review does not permit of a more extended description of the contents of the book, which merits thoughtful reading by all serious students of American history and political philosophy.

MARSHALL S. BROWN.

*The Constitution of Canada; an Introduction to its Development and Law.* By W. P. M. KENNEDY, M.A., Litt.D., Assistant Professor of Modern History in the University of Toronto. (London: Humphrey Milford; New York: Oxford University Press. 1922. Pp. xx, 519. \$9.00.)

THIS is an interesting contribution to an increasing body of literature growing up around the historical development of the Canadian constitution. The literary style is vivacious—frequently entertaining—thus distinctly sustaining the interest of the reader. Indeed, the easy flow of the narrative and the facility with which the problems of Canadian national development are successively disposed of are apt to carry one over many a knotty point with scarce a consciousness of its existence. "The aim of the book", according to the author, "is to trace the stream of development: . . . to seek the causes which gave energy and purpose to the constitutional evolution: . . . to judge by historical standards the gradual expression of a people's political life in constitutional forms, and to estimate them in the light of their constructive contribution to human history." That, it is true, does not commit one to anything very definite, and many quite irreconcilable treatments of the facts of Canadian history might take shelter under such a roof-tree. Frequent flashes of light are thrown on historical situations and personal factors, but one misses the well-articulated presentation of constitutional development. This is particularly notable in the rather lame transitions made between distinctive periods in the national history. The most satisfactory treatment is that accorded to the periods from the Conquest to the Quebec Act, and from the reunion of the provinces in 1840 to the completion of responsible government under Baldwin and Lafontaine in 1848. But no adequate explanation is given of the rapid disintegration of that government—the strongest before Confederation. No period contributed more to the permanent problems of Canada, more thoroughly insured the deadlocks preceding Confederation, or more persistently threatened us with schisms and deadlocks for the future, than the period from 1791 to 1840, yet none is more inadequately treated, from the point of view of the fundamental nature of its determining factors. Too often, when one looks for the promised effort "to judge from historical standards" one is met, in one form or another, with the ancient evasion, it is useless to discuss what "might have been", when you are faced with "what is"—as though the "might have been" may not most vitally determine what may be. Space does not permit of more than a passing reference to the

more analytical chapters, XXII. to XXV., which deal with the existing government in its Dominion and provincial spheres, and which bring together in convenient form much useful information as to the functioning of the Canadian constitution as a "going concern". Here, with the exception of the exercise of the Dominion power of disallowance of provincial acts, not sufficient notice is taken of the operation of the "custom" as distinguished from the "letter" of the constitution—custom does not always follow British precedent. The final chapter on the Imperial Tie contributes a suggestive discussion of a problem very much under consideration at the present time. Incidentally the author takes the trouble to exhume Austin's theory of sovereignty, apparently for the personal satisfaction of re-interring it.

ADAM SHORTT.

*A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, with an Account of the other Banks which now form Part of its Organization.* By VICTOR ROSS. In two volumes. (Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1920; 1922. Pp. xvi, 516; xiii, 595.)

THESE two portly volumes present a contribution to the history of banking in Canada which is welcome in a field where there has been a dearth of material. At this time, moreover, when developments in the United States indicate that forces are aligning for a mortal struggle over the question of branch-banking, it is of interest to trace the beginnings and growth, the policies, the success, and the significance of one of the three most influential banks in a country where the system of branch-banking has become thoroughly established.

The book is the result of collaboration of the author with high officials of the bank. The expressed purpose is not merely to submit to the reader certain facts from the records, but also to picture the conditions under which the banks concerned had their origin and development, and the enormous influence which they in turn exerted in stimulating and moulding the commercial and industrial progress of Canada. The whole gives the impression of a narrative of achievement told by one on the inside and therefore well informed and deeply in sympathy with what has been accomplished. This point of view is consistently retained. Records are drawn upon and are supplemented by the more vivid testimony of those who themselves have had an active part in the unfolding of the plan of development. As men and events, government legislation, and other banks are drawn into the narrative, they are criticized frankly from the viewpoint of the bank. Personal experiences and many amusing incidents are recited with good effect, such as the Dawson teller's identification of strangers by means of certain Masonic signs. A calm, assured pride in achievement, not unpleasing, runs throughout the book. The subject-matter is well organized and the arrangement is good, although frequently the author includes details which are of slight interest to the general reader.

Volume I. concerns itself with the five banks taken over eventually by the Canadian Bank of Commerce. In the case of each bank the conditions are portrayed which resulted in the founding of the institution. Its fortunes and service to the community are traced through the years, until the situation finally arises which constrains the directors to amalgamate with a larger bank. Reasons urged at the time of such action are cited, and in each case the financial basis for the transfer of assets is stated. An interesting feature of these discussions is the author's comment upon the psychology of bank amalgamations, the evident study given in each case to local sentiment, to the attitude of mind of the directors of the smaller bank, and the tactful expression of appreciation for the great service rendered by the corporation about to surrender its charter.

A significant remark upon the inevitable shifting of control of Canadian banks to the two great financial centres may cause Americans to wonder whether, in the event that branch-banking forces recognition in this country, we shall develop such concentration of banking control in New York.

Volume II. is given over to a history of the Canadian Bank of Commerce proper. The institution was born in 1867, when business conditions were extremely inauspicious, but a vigorous management insured success from the first year. The various important stages in development, the decisions upon policies of moment, are made to stand out with due prominence. Connections established with the Bank of Scotland in 1870 made possible the lucrative business of the New York Branch begun in 1872. Several other American branches were opened in later years. In 1893 the growth to the west began with the branch at Winnipeg. In 1900 the purchase of the Bank of British Columbia, a western bank with a London branch, gave added impulse to the northwest movement, and in the years following the agricultural area of the middle West was dotted with branches. At about the same time (1901-1911) the bank enlarged its field toward the east and the northeast through purchase of old established institutions there.

Certain chapters are given wholly to special phases of the bank's history. A chapter on the Romance of Banking helps to take away the curse of the struggle for profits and emphasizes the human side of the great corporation. The chapter on the Legislative Development of the Canadian Banking System contains information more generally familiar, and is of interest chiefly because it reflects the attitude of the bank toward such issues as government examination of the banks' condition, fixed reserves for banks, etc.

Appendixes at the end of volume I. contain some very interesting contributions on early treasury notes of Nova Scotia, some rare currencies of Prince Edward Island, including the so-called Holey Dollars, and various documents of interest to a more limited public.



The appendixes following volume II. gather together the material upon special topics such as the archives department, the branch clearings system, and the like, while numerous plates scattered through the book add materially to the fullness of the presentation.

To the student of economic history the book has the value of an intimate sketch of the bank's influence and share for over fifty years in realization of Canada's commercial, industrial, and agricultural potentialities. The student of banking sees in the work not so much a contribution to our knowledge of banking principles as a record of accomplishment, with a glimpse at the attitude which a powerful bank assumes toward its great problems of policy and methods. Not the least illuminating, if correct, is the impression conveyed of the high sense of responsibility for the safety and integrity and the ethical standards of **their bank** which seems to characterize the managers of the chartered banks to the north of us—some notable exceptions to the contrary notwithstanding.

In conclusion, the reader, upon the basis of the facts offered in the *History*, may not feel qualified to determine whether the service of the banks of Canada is "incalculably more valuable to the people than it is profitable to the shareholders"; but he will gladly receive the work of Mr. Ross as a contribution to the history of banking in Canada.

WALTER R. MYERS.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*Main Currents in World History.* By L. CECIL SMITH, M.A. (London, Rivingtons, 1922, pp. xvi, 384, 8s. 6d.) This book offers to the student and the adult reader a brief, concise, and readable outline of the most significant currents in world-history. The title of the book, however, is more ambitious than the contents, inasmuch as the author confines his description of the ancient and medieval world to fifty pages and makes the merest mention of countries outside of Europe save as they have been brought into contact with European expansion during the last four hundred years.

The main theme of the book is the political development of modern nations. The author believes that the only alternative for nationalism is anarchy and that H. G. Wells's "Cosmopolitanism, as opposed to Internationalism" is a delusion. On the other hand he adopts some of Wells's practice of referring to events and persons according as they are welcome or distasteful to the author. For example, he mourns over the separation of the American colonies from Great Britain as a calamity and repeatedly advises his readers "in the interests of Anglo-American friendship, the less said about the past the better" (pp. 155, 163, 164); he wonders if a violent revolution is ever worth the price (p. 204); opines that it is easier for historians to criticize and abuse statesmen for making the treaties of 1815 and 1919 than it was to have made them (p. 233); and questions whether "education can be extended to the many without losing its virtues" (p. 265).

The book was written distinctly for British consumption by a man who has long had a strong attachment for British imperial policy, which was doubtless deepened by the catastrophe of the World War. While it may be natural under these circumstances for a British historian to have fallen into a complacent national vein, it is to be regretted that an otherwise excellent book is not likely to appeal to an American as well as a British audience.

GEORGE F. ZOOK.

*The Founding of the Roman Empire.* By Frank Burr Marsh, Ph.D., Adjunct Professor of Ancient History in the University of Texas. [University of Texas Studies.] (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1922, pp. vii, 329, \$2.65.) Professor Marsh provides us with a fresh account of the period from the Gracchi to the death of Augustus which incorporates the fruits of his wide and discriminating study of recent discussions of the various special problems. The book abounds with acute observations on detailed points, such as: that the character of ancient shipping gave the Italian grazier protection from overseas competition (p. 35), that Marius's resort to the principle of voluntary enlistment was in part a political move to escape the odium of a general conscription (p. 44), that under the Marian system it required a popular leader to create an army (p. 46), that had Brutus and Cassius won at Philippi the only result would have been to change the personnel, not the character, of the future government, for the power of Brutus and Cassius no less than that of their opponents rested upon the favor of the soldiery (pp. 189 ff.), that the decision of Augustus to limit the extent of the Empire is to be explained in part by the absence of the economic motives for imperialism with which we moderns are familiar (p. 234). There are some surprising omissions. Professor Marsh tells us, for example, that in the second century the quaestorship "was almost always held . . . at 30 or thereabouts" without noting that this minimum age was fixed by the Lex Villia Annalis of 180 B.C. . . . He remarks that the proconsulship was "probably not a wholly new device" in the time of the Hannibalic War (p. 27). One would like to know the reason for the "probably". According to our sources it was first resorted to in the Second Samnite War. One misses also a reference to the part played by the *equites* in forcing the Senate's hand in the Jugurthine War (p. 43), to the campaigns of Augustus in the Balkans in 35-33 B.C. (p. 242), and to Oldfather's well-known contention that Augustus never contemplated extending the Roman boundary to the Elbe (p. 259). More serious is the absence of all mention of the judicial reforms of Sulla and the inadequate account of the administrative innovations introduced by Augustus in the administration of the city. The reader feels the lack very frequently of a justificatory foot-note, and a critical bibliography would have added very much to the value of the work. Professor Marsh's main contributions, which are discussed in careful appendixes, are that Caesar's Gallic

command began on March 1, 59 B.C., and a demonstration of the fact that Augustus made much greater use of nobles in his service in the latter part of his principate. The first contention seems well supported, although the reviewer is not prepared to give it his unqualified assent. The importance of the second fact, it seems to him, Professor Marsh greatly overemphasizes.

DONALD MCFAYDEN.

*Les Martyrs d'Égypte.* Par Hippolyte Delehaye, S. J., Bollandiste. [Extrait des *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XL.] (Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 1923, pp. 221.) This is not a history of the Egyptian martyrs, nor a collection of *Acta et Passiones*, but a critical discussion of the sources of early Egyptian hagiography. The background of the lives of the martyrs is described in the first chapter, which contains a survey of the persecutions in Egypt and an examination of the data and the lists of martyrs in the works of Eusebius.

The general character and extent of the sources for the lives of the Egyptian martyrs are to some extent familiar to readers of the *Analecta Bollandiana*. Constant reference is also made to the various *Bibliothecae Hagiographicae* published by the Bollandist society. In order to classify and to determine the critical reliability of the sources, Father Delehaye first examines the lists of Egyptian martyrs found in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* and in the Greek and Coptic *Synaxaria*. The names furnished by these and some other lists form the basis for the examination of the *Passiones*. These *Passiones* are found in Greek, Latin, Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic. Only the first three classes are discussed. An illustration of the legendary character of the Coptic documents is shown by the detailed examination of some which are typical of the whole class. An appendix contains the text of the *Passiones* of Paphnutius, of Psotius, and of Dioscurus.

The same qualities of critical acumen, breadth of learning, and sureness of method which distinguish all the works of Father Delehaye are in evidence here. Because of the fullness and variety of his knowledge he has almost achieved the impossible in making a critical discussion of sources interesting. The work is an indispensable guide not only to the history of the martyrs of Egypt, but to the history of the foundation and early development of the Egyptian church.

\*PATRICK J. HEALY.

*Études de Critique et d'Histoire Religieuse.* Par E. Vacandard, Aumônier du Lycée de Rouen. Quatrième Série. (Paris, J. Gabalda, 1923, pp. viii, 268, 7 fr.) The readers of the first and second series of *Études de Critique et d'Histoire Religieuse* by M. Vacandard will be somewhat disappointed in this fourth series. The author is a man of genuine learning and sound, critical scholarship, but the articles are distinctly less important in substance and slighter in treatment than those

in his earlier series. The opening article, "L'Apostolat de Saint Pierre à Rome", is a résumé of an article by M. Paul Monceaux and the author adds nothing of his own. It is little more than a brief statement of well-known arguments, the value of which will always remain in dispute. In hardly more independent relation stands the article "La Papesse Jeanne" to Döllinger's *Papstfabeln des Mittelalters* and articles by Ver-net and by Father Thurston. "La Prophétie de Malachie" is a very curious study of a prediction regarding the succession of popes made by St. Bernard's friend, according to those who support the authenticity of what seems a very apocryphal document. The treatment of "Sainte Geneviève de Paris" is careful and is an excellent introduction to the critical study of her life. M. Vacandard knows how to be critical and reverent at the same time. "La Fausse Jeanne d'Arc" is a refutation of a brochure by Grillon de Givry setting forth that the maid of Orleans was not burned at Rouen but escaped and was subsequently married. The essay on this revival of an old fable witnesses therefore to what religious or anti-religious prejudice will bring against the soundest history. The history of the text and the liturgical use and music of *Salve Regina* will be of interest to liturgiologists. The question as to the author of the *Imitatio Christi* is very carefully examined, the various modern theories as to its authorship are scrutinized, and after deciding that the claims for Gerson or Gersen are not well founded, M. Vacandard reaches the conclusion that, in spite of all attempts to overthrow his claim to authorship, Thomas à Kempis is probably the author. The volume concludes with an essay on Pierre Corneille, in which the influence of education at the hands of the Jesuits and his spiritual and religious development are described *con amore*. It goes without saying that any work by M. Vacandard is work well done, but this volume seems to be of less permanent importance than others in the same collection.

J. C. A.

*The Laws of the Earliest English Kings.* Edited and translated by F. L. Attenborough, M.A., Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, University Press, 1922, pp. xii, 256, 15 s.) The laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings have hitherto been accessible in English form only in an edition prepared by Benjamin Thorpe and published in 1840. Excellent as Thorpe's translation was in its day, it is no longer abreast of Anglo-Saxon scholarship and has been completely displaced by the later edition prepared by F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. It would seem, however, that English readers should not be wholly dependent on a foreign translation for knowledge of their ancient laws; and Mr. Attenborough's undertaking is therefore one that deserves the highest praise. The present volume includes all the laws published in old English times to the death of Ethelstan. It is to be hoped that the plan calls for at least one more volume carrying the work down to the close of the Saxon period. In preparing his edition Mr. Attenborough

has omitted everything that does not seem necessary to an understanding of the laws with which he deals. Latin versions are included only where the original Anglo-Saxon has been lost. Variant readings are indicated in foot-notes. The translations have been made with great care; the linguistic problems are discussed in a relatively long series of scholarly notes. In the interpretation of difficult passages the editor frequently disagrees with Liebermann; but he is always careful to state the opinion of the great master as well as his own. Frequently the disagreement is of slight importance only, but occasionally it is fundamental, as in the case of the term *drihtinbeag* which occurs in the earliest Kentish law. Literally this means a payment due to a lord. "Liebermann hesitates to believe that the king was the personal lord of every freeman", and translates the word as "Herrscher geld"; Mr. Attenborough construes it to mean a fine for the infraction of the king's "seigniorial rights". It is quite possible that neither is entirely correct. The reviewer is pleased to add that the volume is provided with a carefully prepared and exceedingly useful index.

L. M. L.

*Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.* By Robert Dunlop, M.A., Lecturer in Irish History in the University of Manchester. (London, Humphrey Milford; New York, Oxford University Press, 1922, pp. 224, 7 s. 6 d.) This brief outline has much to commend it. The author is a student of Irish history whose published contributions to the subject testify to his knowledge and ability. He provides occasional bits of fresh information and a few comments so illuminating as to stimulate our desire for more evidences of his interpretative capacity; moreover, he succeeds, to a considerable degree, in his effort to be impartial: indeed, one marvels at the detachment of the Britisher to whom, "historically, Ireland is as remote . . . as ancient Egypt", though the latter has been brought closer to us than we once dreamed. On the other hand, there are various reasons why Mr. Dunlop's work—well done as it is in many respects—cannot be endorsed without qualification. While inevitable in a short popular sketch, it is unfortunate that certain departures from accepted views cannot be supported by citations from the authorities; also, it is a pity that, in spite of his attempt to leave out all non-essentials, there appear—at least in the first half of the book—all too many names of turbulent chiefs and of battles in which they figured. Such perplexing and somewhat inconsequential matter is doubly unwelcome in a book of this character, since it usurps space that might have been devoted to a fuller treatment of the non-political aspects of Irish life and to the events of recent years. More serious still, the author, in his efforts to condense and simplify, has failed to elucidate adequately various complicated and vexed questions, sometimes doing, though unintentionally, less than justice to one or the other of the parties involved.

A. L. C.

*Somerset Historical Essays.* By J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Fellow of the British Academy, Dean of Wells. (London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 1921, pp. viii, 160, 10 s. 6 d.) In this volume Dean Robinson has published a group of essays and important appendixes (ten in number), all of which deal with problems in the ecclesiastical history of Somerset in the Middle Ages. The greater part of the volume is concerned with matters of local interest, only three of the papers having a definite interest for the larger subject of English history. In his discussion of William of Malmesbury's work *On the Antiquity of Glastonbury*, the author concludes that in preparing this account the great chronicler used the very best evidence at his disposal. The most extensive paper in the series is an essay tracing the career of Peter of Blois, who was attached to the chancery at Canterbury in the second half of the twelfth century. Though the net results of this study are not great, it does serve to illustrate the great variety of business transacted at a metropolitan see in that century. The most important essay in the collection deals with Bishop Jocelyn and the Interdict in the days of King John. In this study the author comes to the conclusion that the bishop and his brother Hugh supported the king "until the king's personal excommunication made it impossible for them to serve him any more". Dr. Robinson appears to believe that the interdict was not taken very seriously by the masses in England. The subject is one of real importance, and Dr. Robinson has at least shown the need of a more thorough study of this entire episode.

L. M. L.

*Registres du Conseil de Genève.* Publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève. Tome VIII. *Du 28 octobre 1514 au 30 juin 1520.* (Geneva, Kundig, 1922, pp. vii, 624, 20 fr.) There is much raw material of significance for linguist, student of social and economic conditions, and writer of political history, hidden in these apparently dry records of the serious and resourceful city fathers picking their ways with watchful eyes and ears through winding, narrow, not over-clean streets from either the lower town by the lake, or the more aristocratic heights, every Tuesday and Friday to the Hotel de Ville, overlooking city wall and gate and low-lying *faubourgs*; or on Sunday at the sound of the great bell, leading grave burghers, sometimes to the number of 300, to the cloisters of the cathedral for the meeting of the general council. Few there will be that find time to read through nearly 500 pages of bad Latin, often giving formal and repetitious details of elections and municipal police. The investigator will do better to turn to the excellent index, under such items as interest him, in order to get at the way in which a city-state of so much influence during the later centuries was carrying on its struggle for liberty and developing its social and economic character. Under "*Cridae*" (cries, publications) and "*Crida*" (public crier), for example, the index cites over a hundred

items of sumptuary legislation of this pre-Reformation time, prohibiting blasphemy, games of dice or cards, vagabondage or idleness, making of cakes ("pro bono publico"!), forestalling of eatables and drinkables, unseemly songs or dances—the jazz of 1515 being described as bobbing up and down in public to the sound of a drum. Under "Macellarii, bocherii, carnifices", are the significant instances of renewed failures to regulate prices and weights in face of the resistance of the meat-packers of three centuries ago; or under "Mulieres" like evidences of inability to cope with the social evil. The financial accounts of the bishop of Geneva reveal 48 cases of fines paid by the clergy for illicit relations during two years. The political struggles may be traced through the index-headings "Savoie, Charles III.", "Friburgum (Fribourg)", "Berthelier", "Bonivard", "Franchesiae et libertates civitatis", "Eygue-nots"; and elections of councils and burghers, under "Consilium", "Electiones", and "Burgenses creati".

This volume, like its predecessors, the product of the devotion and scholarship of a banker, a physician, and a bibliophile, all skillful archivists, and backed by the state and the Genevan societies of history and archaeology, of sciences and arts, is a felicitous example of what an enlightened public sentiment and private enterprise combined can do in providing the solid material upon which comparative social history may some time rest.

HERBERT DARLING FOSTER.

*Geist und Staat: Historische Porträts.* Von Willy Andreas. (Munich and Berlin, Druck und Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1922, pp. viii, 195, \$1.00.) At first glance it seems an incongruous group of portraits that Professor Andreas has brought together in this little volume. Castiglione, Bacon, Père Joseph, Maria Theresa, Marwitz, and Engels belonged to different generations. No two were moved by a common patriotism. One is puzzled to conceive what manner of German this professor of history may be who decks the walls of his study with the portraits of these six widely dissimilar individuals. Indeed they are striking personalities that look out from the likenesses which are reproduced in the volume. Perhaps the author's eye has been caught, now by one, now by another, as he has strolled by some print-shop, and so mere chance has grouped them before his eyes. Then as he has meditated on the rise and fall of states and the varied changes in forms of government (what student of history has not in these recent years?), he has found his imagination weaving about the portraits before him the stirring scenes amid which each of the six moved, and he has sought to fathom the varied thoughts behind those six singularly different pairs of eyes that look out from these pictured faces with such marvellous clairvoyance. The author has envisaged each personality sympathetically and revealed the political concepts of each with accuracy and spirit. The reader must imagine himself seated beside the professor in his study,



gazing at the portraits with him and listening while he skillfully depicts the scenes and thoughts which each of these characters has called to his mind. Whether or not one grasps all the professor's thought—perhaps even he has not entirely integrated his conceptions—one is grateful to him for a more intimate acquaintance with six extremely interesting historic personages.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

*The Life of Sir Robert Moray, Soldier, Statesman, and Man of Science (1608-1673)*. By Alexander Robertson, M.A., B. Litt., late Lecturer in History in the University of Sheffield. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1922, pp. xiii, 223, 12 s. 6 d.) Prefixed to this conscientious and exhaustive study is a memorial notice of the author, who fell in the first battle of the Somme—another poignant reminder of the sacrifices made by the gild of scholars in the vast hecatomb of the World War. The work is the fruit of two years of research as a Carnegie scholar at New College, Oxford, where the late Alexander Robertson received the degree of B. Litt. in 1913. Based on a thorough examination of the sources and literature relating to the subject, including many unprinted documents exploited in France and Holland as well as in the British archives, the resulting biography presents a figure, not very outstanding to be sure, but nevertheless of varied and not insignificant activity in stirring times; for Sir Robert Moray was successively "Colonel of the Scottish Guards in the French service, agent between Charles I. and the Scots in 1646, one of the leaders in the Glencairn Rising, deputy for Lauderdale in the administration of Scotland, and . . . one of the founders and first president of the Royal Society".

Although possessed of poetic gifts of no mean order and known among his intimates as a fashioner of brilliant witticisms the author has, in the present work, rigidly confined himself to a close and sometimes minute sifting of the evidence patiently acquired and to a plain setting forth of the facts with no flights of fancy and few stylistic adornments. In his section on the manuscript sources he honestly states that his investigations into the French archives, the Lauderdale Papers, and the journals and charters of the Royal Society have done little more than amplify and confirm the findings of such authorities as S. R. Gardiner, Dr. Osmund Airy, and G. W. Weld. The biographer's thoroughness and caution leave little for the critic to suggest. However, it might have been well to discuss Clarendon's treatment of the negotiations of Montreuil in 1646, somewhat at variance with Robertson's; and surely Professor Charles Sanford Terry's admirable monograph on the Pentland Rising should not have been overlooked.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

*Calendar of the Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle. Volume VII.* (London, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1923, pp. xxxviii, 857.) The first volume of the *Stuart Papers* appeared in 1902, and all of them have been ably edited by the late Mr. F. H. Blackburne Daniell. These seven volumes of letters and memoranda have shown how widespread were the Jacobite intrigues, not only in the British Isles but on the Continent as well. The seventh volume covers the last half of the year 1718. It is largely concerned with the preliminary preparations for the marriage of the Old Pretender with Princess Clementina Sobieska, and with negotiations by which the Jacobites sought to bring about peace between Peter the Great and Charles XII. and immediately thereafter secure the co-operation of Russia, Sweden, and Spain in overthrowing the Hanoverian dynasty. It is probable that an intensive study of the diplomacy of this period may suggest that the Jacobite plans were less visionary and came nearer being crowned with success than we are usually led to suppose. Alberoni, the Duke of Ormonde, and the Earl of Mar are very conspicuous throughout the volume, and considerable space is devoted to the battle of Cape Passaro. Several letters also indicate that Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, was directly concerned with Jacobite schemes after his release from the Tower. The editors sadly inform us that, while the *Calendar* has been finished to April, 1720, the necessity of strict economy has caused the indefinite suspension of the rest of the work.

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

*L'Incident Hohenzollern: l'Événement, les Hommes, les Responsabilités.* Par Henry Salomon. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1922, pp. 267, 9 fr.) When the Allied and Associated governments insisted on putting into the Treaty of Versailles a statement of Germany's responsibility for the World War, they "started something". In the ensuing controversy, both the French and German governments have recognized the necessity of extending the researches and publication of documents back to 1871. But the developments of the period thus opened to study arise out of another war, the origins of which must also be taken into consideration. The greater part of the present work is devoted to a capable assessment of responsibilities for this earlier conflict. The evidence is not as complete as in the later case; and the author advances a plea for the revelation of more. He himself makes some new contributions from the Austrian archives.

The principal figures in the drama of the Hohenzollern candidacy are passed in review—Prince Anton, Bismarck, the German and French sovereigns, Ollivier, Gramont—all judged with impartial severity. The heaviest verdicts fall upon the German Chancellor and the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. But Bismarck's support of the candidacy, M. Salomon asserts, was designed to provide a "countermine against the projects of . . . the French emperor" (p. 173). Obviously, the tally of evidence is not complete without a closer examination of those projects

than is attempted in this work. One cannot pass judgment on the events of July, 1871, by themselves any more than on those of July, 1914—as the French government realized in starting the monumental *Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870-1871* with the year 1863. But still other wars lie behind. Where can one stop short of the Arioistus incident? One might content oneself, varying the date, with the statement (p. 130): “On ne fait pas la guerre tout seul, et malgré les ambitions allemandes, celle de 1870 n'aurait pas eu lieu, si les Français ne s'y étaient pas prêtés.”

JOSEPH V. FULLER.

*Effects of the War upon French Economic Life: a Collection of Five Monographs.* Edited by Charles Gide, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Paris. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*, edited by David Kinley.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1923, pp. 197, 6s.) This little book contains five brief studies by French economists covering the period from the outbreak of the war to the end of the year 1919. A sketch of the Merchant Marine is by H. Mazel; Professor Albert Aftalion contributes one paper on the Textile Industry and another on Commercial Policy; Professor Bertrand Nogaro has achieved a remarkable feat in condensing into eighteen pages the Effect of the War on French Finance; and Professor William Oualid traces the labor movements caused by war and by demobilization. Each paper states concisely the new problems that had to be solved and enumerates in its respective field the measures taken by the government. There is a pervading tone of commendation of the policies adopted, but limitations of space admit of little discussion. In the main there is an avoidance of forecasts of the future and little attempt is made to estimate the permanence of the effects of the war and of the policies they called forth. In every case there has been an obvious effort merely to present a terse and colorless statement of the facts that each writer has deemed to be of outstanding importance.

THOMAS WALKER PAGE.

*Financial Policy of Czechoslovakia during the First Year of its History.* By Dr. Alois Rašín, Minister of Finance for Czechoslovakia. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Economic and Social History of the World War*, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1923, pp. xvi, 160, 7s. 6d.) The late Dr. Rašín left at least two legacies to the world: first, financial stability to Czechoslovakia, an example for other new states to follow; secondly, the book now under review. One of the first of the new series to appear, the work is mainly divided into three parts, the currency question (with all its ramifications), national finance, and economic measures. A brief but valuable historical introduction precedes, and a

still briefer conclusion follows, the main discussion. One learns the way out of some difficulties confronting new states amid post-war conditions and how to differentiate between these states according to the wisdom shown in facing those problems. The Austro-Hungarian and the restored Czechoslovak currency, reserves, property taxes, the Peace Treaty and international exchange, and the banking work of the ministry comprise part I.; studies of the budget, governmental undertakings, the taxation system, and national debt follow. The last part, beginning with the liberation of the financial system, discusses joint-stock companies, the housing problem, and the transition to freedom of trade and competition.

Characterized by great clarity, with the material well organized for study or references, the book treats every pertinent topic with apparent frankness and with full consideration for the political as well as the economic conditions involved. Useful statistical tables are appropriately placed; there is an adequate index.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

*America's Race Heritage: an Account of the Diffusion of Ancestral Stocks in the United States during Three Centuries of National Expansion and a Discussion of its Significance.* By Clinton Stoddard Burr. (New York, the National Historical Society, 1922, pp. x, 337, \$4.20.) This is a small book, intended for popular consumption. Mr. Burr's motives are those of public spirit, for he is deeply concerned over the magnitude and quality of the immigration from southern and eastern Europe into the United States, and believes that it threatens the greatest danger to the nation. Also, he has not spared pains in statistical computations; but his arguments rest on sandy foundations. He has accepted with implicit confidence the pseudo-scientific doctrines which have been widely promulgated respecting the extraordinary superiority of the Nordic race above all others, and the strange readings of history which have been used to support those doctrines. "Northwest Europe from that day forth [from the subsidence of Mongol invasion] was assured a breed of pure-blooded Nordic white people." "Of course the upper classes of Prussia are descendants from the conquering Teutonic Knights, and are therefore of pure Germanic blood." In the north of Italy "the Nordic strain was responsible for the glories of the Italian Renaissance". Columbus's discovery "was at least an important link in the chain of Nordic accomplishments; for if he was a north Italian he probably owes his pioneering spirit to the blood of ancestors through whose veins ran the partial strain of Goth and Lombard". "Probably all our 'old stock' was derived from the Nordic districts of the British Isles, and this is true also of a majority of our later immigrants from the United Kingdom." "The wealthy Southern colonists were of the bluest blood." "The Huguenots were not really Latin, but of the Norse blood of Rolf the Granger [*sic*] and his Vikings." "The early German settlements of Pennsylvania and later emigration is known to have drained southern Germany of much

of its finest Nordic stock; and the Huguenots of France, who were forced out of their country, composed the purest Nordic type of gentry to be found in that period." "Thousands of Belgians (many of them speaking a joint Flemish-Walloon dialect) are settled in Wisconsin." "The true creoles (descendants of the French nobility who escaped the Revolution in France)."

Arguments based on such ignorance of history deserve little attention, and the present-day ethnology is equally unsubstantial. A writer who seriously thinks it possible to compute that, of the total white population of the United States, 80,984,319 may be held to be of Nordic race and 4,978,178 of Alpine, puts himself out of court at once.

*History of the James River and Kanawha Company.* By Wayland Fuller Dunaway, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CIV., no. 2.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1922, pp. 251, \$2.75.) This study is one of the "sad words of tongue or pen"; it tells the story of how on two occasions Virginia bet on the wrong horse. Beginning immediately after the Revolution, or contemporaneously with New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, the Old Dominion planned to capture the commerce of the Ohio Valley by facilitating transportation between her eastern and western waters. She was then advised by John Ballendine to build a canal; but George Washington preferred the judgment of James Rumsey and magisterially prescribed improved steam navigation. When in the early 'thirties the Rumsey plan had failed and it was necessary to begin *de novo*, Virginia was urged by some of her most respected public men, Wilson Cary Nicholas, Wyndham Robertson, and John Brockenbrough, to adopt a railway; but now she listened to the persuasive eloquence of Joseph C. Cabell and voted for what had meanwhile become an obsolescent instrument of commerce—a canal. Who may say what might have been the economic, nay the political, consequence if, as was possible, Virginia had anticipated either the Erie Canal or the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad? As it is, her taxpayers are still paying the interest on millions which represent no more than the memory of a generous hope.

Dr. Dunaway has sustained a laborious research with success, and beyond question has achieved his desire to make a contribution to the history of his native state. One regrets only that apparently he failed to appreciate how Jefferson played the part of Mephistopheles to Washington's Faust in the inauguration of the Patowmack and James River Companies. If he had done so he would have avoided a new rehearsal of that chapter of Washington mythology which had its beginning in 1856 when John Pickens published his romantic book.

A map might courteously have been provided with the otherwise complete critical apparatus, for not all Dr. Dunaway's readers will have convenient access to the internal improvement edition of the Nine Sheet

Map and some of the key place-names mentioned in the text have disappeared in present-day usage.

*The Religious Experience of John H. Noyes, Founder of the Oneida Community.* Compiled and edited by George W. Noyes. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. xiii, 416, \$2.50.) For the purposes for which it is intended, this is a belated book. The author, apparently a relative of John H. Noyes, attributes to the latter's religious experience and opinions an importance and value which few readers will ascribe to them. The mode of approach to religious thought, the methods of theological inquiry, have changed too greatly to permit any large number of persons to be interested in the meditations and controversies of a very young man of keen but ill-balanced mind who was pondering these subjects, with much self-satisfaction, a hundred years ago. Nor will Noyes's subsequent career (for the present volume goes only to his twenty-seventh year) make these youthful experiences seem important even to those who on grounds of economic study are interested in the Oneida Community. Yet by judicious skipping the reader interested in understanding the American mind of about 1830, in some of the queerest manifestations which were then so abundant, will find in the little volume a great amount of entertainment and even of instruction. It will seem to him incredible that any considerable number of persons so thought and acted; but they did. He who would imagine the American people of 1830 must compel himself to imagine a people among whom many thousands could be persuaded to follow even so shabby a prophet as Joseph Smith.

*Argonauts of '49: History and Adventures of the Emigrant Companies from Massachusetts, 1849-1850.* By Octavius Thorndike Howe. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1923, pp. v, 221, \$3.50.) This book contains an account of the part played by Massachusetts in the migration to California in 1849, and makes a valuable contribution to the rich and varied literature that has sprung up around the Gold Rush. It has been prepared, the author tells us, "largely from the records left by the Argonauts themselves, from their private letters, their log books and the minutes and journals of their companies, none of which have yet been published and most of which are in private possession".

This reliance upon primary sources, which the author draws upon for numerous and lengthy quotations, constitutes one of the chief merits of the book. The most outstanding contribution which the author makes to the story of the Gold Rush, however, lies in his account of the part played in that movement by the *organized company*. Long before this volume appeared, it was of course well known that scores of companies were organized in the Atlantic states to facilitate the passage to California and to carry on mining operations after the companies reached

the Sierras. Howe is the first writer, however, to treat the story of the Gold Rush from the standpoint of these companies or to give a detailed account of their organization, membership, and experiences. Though the book deals only with the companies originating in Massachusetts, the author has found it possible to secure the records of 124 such organizations from that one state alone.

The arrangement of the material in the book is sometimes rather haphazard and confusing; there are certain mistakes in the spelling of proper names; the bibliography, curiously enough, consists in part of the "Length of Passage of Massachusetts Company Vessels Sailing to California in 1848", and, finally, there is no index.

These shortcomings, however, are of minor significance compared to the real merits of the book. If Howe makes no attempt to deal with the larger national aspects of the California migration of 1849, he at least has added much to our knowledge of the contribution made by Massachusetts to that movement and of the part played by the organized company. New England and California alike will find the book especially valuable.

*Virginians of Distinguished Service in the World War.* Arthur Kyle Davis, editor. [Publications of the Virginia War History Commission. Source Volume I.] (Richmond, the Commission, 1923, pp. xxvi, 243.) Partly as a help toward the preparation of the history of Virginians in the World War, in four volumes, which is contemplated by the commission named, partly for its own sake, the Commission puts forth an alphabetical list of Virginians who have received, for services connected with this war, any of the various American or foreign military orders, such as the distinguished service medal, citations by commanders, or the *croix de guerre*. The volume records 1127 honors awarded to 763 Virginians by the officials of fifteen nations. The material has been gathered together with extraordinary industry and energy and constitutes an impressive record, of which the whole state, as well as the compiler, may well be proud. As the editor well says, "The deeds are out of Dumas, but the names are out of the directory". From Earl D. Gregory, of Chase City in Mecklenburg County, who was awarded a Congressional medal of honor and the French *croix de guerre* with palm, for capturing a machine gun and three of the enemy and then capturing a 7.5 centimetre mountain howitzer and, entering a dugout in the immediate vicinity, single-handed capturing nineteen of the enemy (all as one morning's work!), down to the least picturesque of participants, all varieties of heroism and devotion to duty are chronicled, by printing, under the name, the text of the citations, with references to the sources of information.



## COMMUNICATION

University of Colorado,  
BOULDER, COLORADO, May 4, 1923.

*The Editor of the American Historical Review:*

I wish to ask for a small portion of your valuable space to correct an historical inaccuracy not unimportant and, I hope, not without interest in the review of my book, *Rome and the World Today*, published in your April number (p. 525).

In view of the complimentary expressions used in this review it may seem ungenerous to find fault with it; but the reviewer's assertion that I am demolishing a man of straw when I disprove the charge of hypocrisy against Augustus Caesar except as it was based on the fact that "the Principate was an elaborate farce" is so in conflict with the facts that I feel that his statement should not go unchallenged. From Tacitus and Gibbon down to the present day most of the writers of classical history have apparently delighted to expatiate on the insincerity and hypocrisy of Augustus on grounds other than that stated by the reviewer; and many of them have repeated, parrot-like, the charge of Gibbon "that at the age of nineteen he assumed the mask of hypocrisy which he never afterwards laid aside". Whether the Principate was an "elaborate farce" or in fact a farce of any kind, may well be questioned, in view of the fact that it was a form of government which existed for three hundred years and under which over one hundred millions of people enjoyed for two hundred years a period of peace and prosperity and protection of personal rights unequalled in any similar period of the world's history. But aside from that question an examination of almost any conventional Roman history will clearly establish that the charge of hypocrisy against Augustus is not based upon the nature of the government that he established.

Very truly yours,

HERBERT S. HADLEY.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

During the sabbatical absence of Professor Dutcher the work of examining the current French, German, and Italian journals and pamphlets for the purposes of this section of the *Review* has been kindly undertaken by his colleague Professor H. M. Wriston. Professor Dutcher now resumes the function. Grateful acknowledgment is made of Professor Wriston's assistance. It may also be desirable that readers should be reminded of the constant service maintained for many years by Dr. Edmund C. Burnett of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in making for the American part of this section the needful notes from the local historical journals and similar current materials.

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

*Writings on American History* for 1920, issued as a supplementary volume to the *Annual Report* for 1920, was put through the press somewhat in advance of the Report itself, and is now about ready for distribution. All members wishing to receive a copy should notify the assistant secretary at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize Essay on *Commercial Policy in the French Revolution: a Study of the Career of G. J. A. Dutcher*, awarded to F. L. Nussbaum is, we understand, about ready for distribution. Orders for the book should be sent to the assistant secretary, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

In a previous issue it was stated that, in order to bring the *Annual Reports* up to date, it was planned to issue the report-matter for 1920, 1921, and 1922 in one volume. It now appears that exigencies of the Government Printing Office stand in the way of this consolidation, and therefore the *Annual Report* for 1920 will appear in separate form; but it is expected that those for 1921 and 1922 will be conjoined.

### PERSONAL

Henry P. Johnston, for many years professor of history in the College of the City of New York, died in retirement at Middletown, Connecticut, on March 2, at the age of eighty. He was the author of three excellent books on the history of the Revolution, *The Campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn* (1878), *The Yorktown Campaign* (1881), and *The Battle of Harlem Heights* (1897). He also edited the *Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay* (1890-1893).

M. Henri Hauser, professor of economic history in the University of Paris, has been serving as exchange professor in Harvard University during the second semester of the academic year just past.

Professor W. C. Abbott of Harvard University will be absent in Europe during the first half of the year. Assistant Professor R. P. Blake of the same university will spend the year in Oxford, on the exchange of tutors recently established between Harvard College and University College. Professor G. M. Dutcher supplies Mr. Abbott's place.

By way of correction of an announcement in our April number, it may be mentioned that circumstances have prevented Professor Charles M. Andrews from making use of his leave of absence, and he will remain in New Haven during the coming year.

Professors James T. Shotwell and David S. Muzzey of Columbia University will be on sabbatical leave during the year 1923-1924. Upon return of the latter he will be transferred from Barnard College to the graduate chair of recent American history in Columbia. Professor C. J. H. Hayes of the same university will also be on sabbatical leave during the second half of the year.

Professor Alexander C. Flick, of Syracuse University, has resigned his position there in order to assume the duties of state historian of New York in succession to Dr. James Sullivan.

Professor Paul van Dyke, who for the past two years has been director of the Paris branch of the American University Union in Europe, returns to his duties at Princeton in September. Professor Dana C. Munro, who has been spending several months in Syria and Palestine, has returned to America, and will teach in the summer session of the University of California.

During the coming year at the Johns Hopkins University Professors David M. Robinson and Tenney Frank will conduct graduate courses in Greek and Roman history, Professor R. V. D. Magoffin having accepted the position of head of the department of classics in New York University. Professor Henry M. Wriston, of Wesleyan University, will deliver the Albert Shaw Lectures in American diplomatic history.

Dr. James A. Robertson has been made professor of American history in the John B. Stetson University and corresponding secretary of the Florida State Historical Society, with residence chiefly in Washington, and with duties chiefly connected with the editing of that society's publications.

Professor Henry E. Bourne of Western Reserve University has been given leave of absence for the year and will spend it in Europe.

Professor Harlow Lindley, of Earlham College, has been made director of the Indiana Historical Commission, and will hereafter be

mostly in Indianapolis, though retaining the headship, and a general supervision, of the department of history in Earlham College.

The trustees of the University of Porto Rico have made arrangements in the department of history and social science whereby Professor Frederick M. Cutler has charge of history alone, economics, political science, and sociology being given into the charge of an additional teacher.

We note appointments and promotions as follows: C. H. Haring of Yale, to be professor of Latin American history and economics, succeeding Julius Klein, in Harvard University; R. H. George of Union College, to be associate professor of history in Brown University; A. L. P. Dennis to be for a year professor of history, and W. L. Langer of Harvard, to be assistant professor of history, in Clark University; L. W. Lancaster of Pennsylvania, and E. P. Chase of Harvard, to be assistant professors of history in Wesleyan University; G. G. Andrews of Union College, Nebraska, to be assistant professor of history in Cornell University; John Musser of New York University, to be associate professor of history; J. M. Gambrill and E. M. Early of Columbia University, to be associate and assistant professors of history respectively; C. R. Hall and W. P. Hall of Princeton, to be associate professors of history, and S. J. Howe, to be assistant professor of history; Miss Elizabeth F. Rogers of Smith College, to be chief professor of history in Wilson College; C. P. Higby of West Virginia, to be associate professor of modern Continental European history in the University of North Carolina; R. S. Cotterill, to be professor and head of the department of history, T. P. Martin to be professor of history, and Dupré Smith of Princeton assistant professor, in the University of Louisville; A. T. Volwiler of Pennsylvania, to be professor of history in Wittenberg College, Ohio; P. W. Slosson, to be assistant professor of history in the University of Michigan; P. W. Townsend and J. C. Andressohn, to be assistant professors of history in the University of Indiana; C. S. Boucher of Texas, to be professor of history, C. F. Huth, jr., and A. P. Scott, to be associate professors, and Einar Joranson and J. F. Rippey, assistant professors, in the University of Chicago; J. D. Hicks of the North Carolina College for Women, to be professor of American history in the University of Nebraska; R. F. Arragon of Harvard, to be professor of history in Reed College, Portland.

The following appointments for summer schools are noted: Professor Theodore Collier of Brown University is to teach in Clark University; A. E. R. Boak of Michigan and J. F. Baldwin of Vassar, in Cornell University; Carl Becker of Cornell, in the New School for Social Research in New York City; J. D. Hicks of the North Carolina College for Women, in Syracuse University; A. T. Volwiler of Pennsylvania, in the Johns Hopkins University; J. S. Bassett of Smith College, in the University of Chicago; A. C. Krey of Minnesota, in the University of

Michigan; C. W. Alvord of Minnesota and C. S. Boucher of Texas, in the University of Wisconsin; Clarence Perkins of North Dakota, P. W. Slosson of Michigan, and H. S. Lucas of the University of Washington, in the University of Minnesota; A. H. Sweet of St. Lawrence University, in the University of Colorado; C. R. Fish of Wisconsin, in the University of Washington; S. B. Harding of Minnesota, in the University of Oregon; and D. C. Munro of Princeton, in the University of California.

#### GENERAL

In connection with the Renan centenary, an International Congress of the History of Religions is being organized by the Société Ernest Renan, to be held at Paris from October 8 to October 13. It will be a purely scientific meeting, and topics of religious controversy are to be excluded from the discussions. The topics to be handled include methods of study, prehistoric religions, religions of the ancient East, of the Hebrews, of India and Persia, of China and Japan; Celtic, German, and Slav religions; Islam; Christianity; the teaching of the history of religions. The president of the congress will be Professor Charles Guignebert. Circulars of information may be obtained from the editor of this journal.

The annual Pulitzer prize of \$2000 for the best book upon the history of the United States has been awarded to Mr. Charles Warren for his book entitled *The Supreme Court in United States History*; the prize of \$1000 in biography was awarded to *The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*, by Burton J. Hendrick.

In 1919 the Norwegian Nobel Institute, of Christiania, proposed for international competition, with a prize of 5000 Norwegian crowns, the theme, An Account of the History of the Free Trade Movement in the Nineteenth Century and its Bearings on the International Peace Movement. The committee wish it to be announced that, of the nine essays submitted before the appointed date in 1922, none was deemed of sufficient merit to receive the prize, though one, written in English, and regarded as the best, will be published by the Institute.

Messrs. George Routledge announce the preparation of a series of more than a hundred volumes bearing the general title *The History of Civilization*, incorporating translations of M. Henri Berr's *L'Évolution de l'Humanité*, of which the first volumes have been already reviewed in this journal. There will however be some original volumes, the first volume of the series being *Principles of Social Organization*, by the late W. H. R. Rivers, of St. John's College, Cambridge.

It is announced that the house of Félix Alcan, of Paris, will in the autumn of 1915 begin the publication of an *Histoire Générale depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'à nos Jours*, in twenty octavo volumes of about 400 pages each. The general editors are to be Professors L. Halphen of

Bordeaux and Ph. Sagnac of Lille, each of whom contributes two volumes, while others are by Professors H. Hauser, P. Jouguet, P. Roussel, etc.

A new edition of Ranke's *Weltgeschichte* (8 vols., Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1922) has been brought out recently; also, a second revised edition of Helmholt's *Weltgeschichte* (9 vols., Leipzig, Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1922).

From the creation of a School of Slavonic Studies at King's College the University of London has advanced to the establishing of a chair of Central European history, more especially devoted to "the history of the area covered by the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Balkan States, with the exclusion of Greece". To this chair Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson was most deservedly elected. His inaugural lecture, printed as a pamphlet by the university, *The Historian as a Political Force in Central Europe*, is a learned, wise, suggestive, and highly profitable discourse.

The principal papers in the April number of the *Historical Outlook* are: Geographic Influences in Pacific History, by Professor W. H. Ellison; Nationalization of the Democratic Party, by Professor E. D. Ross; and the Third Year of the League of Nations, by Professor E. McK. Eriksson. Those in the May number are: Young Russia in Czecho-Slovakia, by Professor Lucy E. Textor; and Military Conscription, especially in the United States, by Professor F. M. Cutler. The June issue has an entertaining "Hour in the Renaissance" by Professor E. H. Wilkins of Chicago.

The April number of the *Catholic Historical Review* acquires exceptional value from the papers read at the New Haven meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association. The proceedings of this third annual meeting are described in full, and are followed by Professor R. H. Lord's presidential address on Belgium; a Study in Catholic Democracy; by Professor F. A. Christie's paper on Aspects of the Catholic Social Movement; that of Father Francis S. Betten, S. J., on the Knowledge of the Sphericity of the Earth during the Earlier Middle Ages; that of Dr. John J. Rolbiecki on Dante's Views on the Sovereignty of the State; that of Dr. Leo F. Stock on the United States at the Court of Pius IX., and other papers.

In the *Journal of Negro History* for April there are addresses on the Teaching of Negro History by J. W. Bell, and on Negro Biography by Paul W. L. Jones, a master's dissertation on Haiti and the United States by George W. Brown, and an elaborate and interesting biography of Paul Cuffe, 1759-1817, negro sea-captain and pathfinder in negro colonization, by Henry N. Sherwood.

*History* for April presents a presidential address by Professor T. F. Tout on the Place of the Middle Ages in the Teaching of History; a

paper on Local History: an Exeter Experiment, by Professor W. J. Harte, and a survey of recent text-books on the history of Greece and Rome, by Norman H. Baynes. The Historical Association, we observe, which just before the World War had a little more than a thousand members, now has nearly five thousand. The "historical revision" in this number is a statement respecting the great fire of London, by Miss E. Jeffries Davis, based on W. G. Bell's recent monograph.

The *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* undertakes to fill the gap between its tome XV. (1914) and its tome XVII. (1921) by presenting at least its bibliography of ecclesiastical history (broadly interpreted) for the years 1914-1919. Accordingly it brings out (Louvain, Librairie Universitaire, 1923, pp. 352) the first fascicle of such a bibliography, embracing both sources and subsequent literature, and including 6238 items, arranged in the manner customary in its annual bibliographies heretofore published.

Of special interest to students of history is the third volume of *Gesammelte Schriften* of the late Professor Ernst Troeltsch, of Berlin, which contains his work *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1922, pp. xi, 777).

Some valuable contributions to the history of ideas and the movement of opinion are contained in *Staat und Welt: eine Geschichtliche Zeitbetrachtung* (Berlin, Elsner, 1922, pp. vii, 302) by Dietrich Schäfer, *Die Welt des Mittelalters und Wir: ein Geschichtsphilosophischer Versuch über den Sinn eines Zeitalters* (Bonn, Cohen, 1922, pp. 124) by Paul L. Landsberg, and *Kritik der Öffentlichen Meinung* (Berlin, Springer, 1922, pp. xii, 583) by Ferdinand Tönnies.

The new edition of the *Metodología y Crítica Históricas* of Father G. Villada, S. J. (Barcelona, J. Gili, pp. 383 and pl. 25), beside the usual material of such works, contains in the portion devoted to heuristic many data useful to historians who work in the archives and libraries of Spain.

Among the more recent works in the field of the relations between geography and history may be noted the second revised edition of *Leitlinien der Allgemeinen Politischen Geographie: Naturlehre des Staates* (Berlin, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, pp. viii, 199) by Alexander Supan, prepared by Erich Obst; *Landschaft und Kulturentwicklung in Unseren Klimabreiten* (Hamburg, Friederichsen, 1922, pp. 165) by Siegfried Passarge; the first volume of *Traité Comparatif des Nationalités* (Paris, Payot, 1921, pp. 228) by Arnold Van Gennep; and *La Géographie Linguistique* (Paris, Flammarion, 1922, pp. 200) by A. Douzat, which is a popular summary setting forth the results embodied in the well-known *Atlas Linguistique de la France* and in the later works of the same group of French scholars.



Professor Walter Libby, professor of the history of science in the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburgh, has published an elementary but well-planned and clear account of *The History of Medicine in Its Salient Features* (New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1922).

The first volume of a revised and enlarged edition of Philippson's *Neueste Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes* (Frankfort, Kauffmann, 1922) has recently appeared.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. G. Everett, *The Problem of Progress* (Philosophical Review, March); C. Richet, *Qu'est-ce que la Civilisation?* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 15); D. T. Starnes, *Purpose in the Writing of History* (Modern Philology, February); A. P. Usher, *Soil Fertility, Soil Exhaustion, and their Historical Significance* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, May); Sir F. Pollock, *A Plea for Historical Interpretation* (Law Quarterly Review, April); L. Thorndike, *The Historical Background of Modern Science* (Scientific Monthly, May).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

Messrs. Putnam have published in their *Every Day Life* series *Every Day Life in the New Stone, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages*, by Marjorie and C. H. B. Quennell.

An illustrated book on *Tutankhamen: Amenism, Atenism, and Egyptian Monotheism* (London, Martin Hopkinson), by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge of the British Museum, gives the known facts about that king's life, and also the historical details respecting the religious changes and controversies of his time.

The introductory portion of Professor Jean Capart's important *Leçons sur l'Art Égyptien* (Liège, 1920), chiefly concerned with architectural origins and the artistic ideas of the Egyptians, has been translated into English by Mr. Warren R. Dawson and published by Allen and Unwin under the title *Egyptian Art: Introductory Studies*.

Under the editorship of Dr. Carl Clemen a collection of original passages from the Greek and Latin authors relating to the history of religion is being published in small volumes in Bonn (A. Marcus and E. Weber). The first is *Fontes Historiae Religionis Persicae*, edited by Dr. Clemen; the second, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae*, from Homer to Diodorus, edited by Theodor Hopfner.

*Les Rapports des Grecs avec l'Égypte de la Conquête de Cambyse, 525, à celle d'Alexandre, 331* (Paris, Geuthner, 1922), by D. Mallet, is a valuable study for its correlation of a considerable amount of somewhat unfamiliar materials. For the next period, Wilhelm Schubart gives considerable attention to economic, social, and cultural matters in *Aegypten von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf Mohammed* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1923, pp. iv, 379). A more specialized study for the Hellenistic period

is *La Vita Publica e Privata degli Ebrei in Egitto nell'Età Ellenistica e Romana* (Florence, 1922), by A. N. Modona.

Professor Rudolf Kittel has published the fourth revised edition of the second volume of his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Gotha, Perthes, pp. xvi, 570), which deals with the period closing with the Babylonian exile. A later period and a somewhat wider geographical area are surveyed by C. F. Jean in *Le Milieu Biblique avant Jésus-Christ* (vol. I., Paris, Geuthner, 1922, pp. xxi, 339).

Professor Karl Julius Beloch in the third volume of the revised edition of his *Griechische Geschichte* (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1922, pp. xii, 652) brings the narrative down to the conquests of Alexander. In the first volume of his *Griechisches Staatsrecht* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1922, pp. xii, 443) Ulrich Kahrstedt makes a thorough and careful study of Sparta. Two well-written popular manuals on Greek civilization and culture are *La Civilisation Hellénique, Aperçu Historique* (2 vols., Paris, Payot, 1922, pp. 160, 160) by Maurice Croiset, and *La Sculpture Grecque* (*ibid.*, pp. 156) by Henri Lechat. Léon Rey has published the first volume of an important ethnographical study recording his *Observations sur les Premiers Habitants de la Macédoine* (Paris, Boccard, 1922, pp. 176).

The study of early cultures in the western portion of the Mediterranean basin is advanced by a new edition of Rufus Festus Avienus, *Ora Maritima, Periplus Massiliensis, saec. VI. a. C., adjunctis caeteris Testimoniis anno 500 a. C. Antiquioribus* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1922, pp. 138), edited by Adolf Schulten, who has also written *Tartessos: ein Beitrag zur Aeltesten Geschichte des Westens* (Hamburg, Friederichsen, 1922, pp. vii, 93).

The latest studies of Professor E. Pais are published in *Storia della Colonizzazione di Roma Antica*, vol. I., *Prolegomeni, le Fonti, i Libri Imperiali Regionum* (Rome, Nardecchia, 1923, pp. xxxviii, 379), and in *Storia della Sardegna e della Corsica durante il Dominio Romano* (2 vols., *ibid.*). Professor Conrad Cichorius of the University of Bonn has published a collection of *Römische Studien* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1922, pp. vii, 456). Professor Stéphane Gsell has summarized his larger work in a small volume entitled *L'Algérie dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, Champion, 1923).

The Oxford University Press will shortly publish an edition of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, presenting both Latin and Greek texts, with introduction, translation, commentary, notes, and appendixes, by Dr. E. G. Hardy, principal of Jesus College.

George Wissowa has published a tenth edition of Ludwig Friedlaender's *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* (vol. I., Leipzig, Hirzel, pp. xxxiv, 490). The second and third volumes have ap-

peared of the revised edition of Otto Seeck's *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt* (Stuttgart, Metzler, 1922).

Friedrich Knoke has issued a thoroughly revised edition of *Die Kriege des Germanicus in Deutschland* (Berlin, Weidmann, pp. xi, 512). C. Barbagallo is the author of a study on *Tiberio* (Florence, Le Monnier, 1922) and P. Faider of *Étude sur Sénèque* (Ghent, Van Rysselberghe and Rombaud, 1922, pp. 326).

*Choir d'Inscriptions de Palmyre* (Paris, Geuthner, 1922, pp. 152), edited by J. B. Chabot, contains a careful arrangement intended to present a fairly satisfactory historical narrative. The volume is excellently illustrated. Another contribution to the history of the Roman Empire in Asia is *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kriege zwischen Römern und Parthern* (Berlin, Schwetschke, 1922, pp. 136), by A. Günther.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Naville, *L'Égyptologie Française pendant un Siècle, 1822-1922* (*Journal des Savants*, September, November); V. Ehrenberg, *Vom Sinn der Griechischen Geschichte* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXVII. 3); W. Judeich, *Griechische Politik und Persische Politik im V. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (*Hermes*, LVIII. 1); H. Bolkestein, *Fabrieken en Fabrikanten in Griekenland* (*Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 1923, 1); W. S. Ferguson, *The Lex Calpurnia* (*Journal of Roman Studies*, XI. 1).

#### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General review: G. Krueger, *Works of Ecclesiastical History published 1914-1920 in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian Countries* (*Harvard Theological Review*, XIV. 287-374).

Professor Eduard Meyer has published the second volume of *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* with the subtitle *Die Entwicklung des Judentums und Jesus von Nazareth* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1922, pp. viii, 462).

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

No. 29 of the S. P. C. K. *Texts for Students* presents Latin text and English translation of the pontifical decree of 449, known as the *Tome* of Pope Leo the Great.

The alumni of the University of Chicago have undertaken a definite movement to present its library with valuable and useful medieval manuscripts. By a financial expenditure of some \$7500 they have given the university a remarkable manuscript of the *Novellae Constitutiones* of Justinian of about the middle of the thirteenth century; an English Benedictine manuscript of the same century containing a *Liber de Novem Scientiis* and a body of Cistercian sermons; an English manuscript of about 1075, somewhat remarkable artistically, and containing *Miracula Sanctae Virginis* and others; a *Registrum Breve*, temp. Edw. II.; and a reference volume of the same period embracing *Magna Charta* and

other statutes. Further gifts of manuscripts helpful in humanistic research are intended.

As toms XXXVI.-XXXVII. of the *Analecta Bollandiana*, finally closing the gap which the war caused in their series, the Bollandist fathers have issued a volume (pp. 319) of *Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes*, translations from Georgian into Latin, which Father Paul Peeters carried out as a task possible under the conditions which afflicted Belgium in war-time, and adapted to pacify the mind. The documents are four medieval lives—of Sts. John and Euthymus, of St. George the Hagiorite, of St. Serapion, founder of the monastery of Zarzma, and of St. Gregory, founder of Khandztha. The Georgian texts, published in 1882, 1901, 1909, and 1911, are in the first three cases from manuscripts at Tiflis (one of them apparently "conveyed" not long before from the monastery of the Iberians on Mt. Athos); the manuscript of the fourth is in the library of the patriarch of Jerusalem. The society has also published volume VI. (preface and index, pp. 244), the completing volume, of Canon Ulysse Chevalier's *Repertorium Hymnologicum*.

Important contributions to the institutional history of the medieval Church are made in *L'Élection des Evêques par les Chapitres au XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, La Vie Universitaire, 1922, pp. 78), by A. Desprairies, and *Les Origines du Vicaire Général, Étude Historique et de Droit Canon, avec Documents Inédits* (Paris, Picard, 1922, pp. 153), by Édouard Fournier. A thorough study of the history of indulgences has been provided by N. Paulus in *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter vom Ursprunge bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (2 vols., Paderborn, Schöningh, 1922, 1923).

The position of Mohammedanism and its culture in the tenth century is dealt with by Professor Adam Mez of Basel in *Die Renaissance des Islams* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1922, pp. iv, 492).

Some recent monographs dealing with the reign of Frederick II. are *Das Kaisertum Friedrichs des Zweiten, nach den Anschauungen seiner Staatsbriefe* (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1922, pp. 111), by Wolfram von den Steinen, *Staatsbriefe Kaiser Friedrichs des Zweiten* (Breslau, Hirt, 1922, pp. vii, 104), by the same, and *Federico II. e le Correnti Spirituali del suo Tempo* (Rome, Bardi, 1922, pp. 124), by A. De Stefano.

Professor Julián Ribera has now followed up his study of medieval Andalusian music in *La Música de las Cantigas*, recently noticed in these pages, with the first fascicle of a work in which he applies his discoveries and methods of interpretation to the music of the troubadours and trouvères, *La Música Andaluza Medieval en las Canciones de Trovadores y Troveros* (Madrid, 1923, pp. 31 of text, 73 of music). In it he transcribes 130 songs from the Chansonier of the Arsenal, that of Saint Germain des Prés, and MS. no. 844 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. As in his earlier work, these researches belong to the broad history of medieval Europe and not to the narrow limits of any art or literature.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Pirenne, *Un Contraste Économique: Mérovingiens et Carolingiens* (Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, April); Dom U. Berlière, *Honorius III. et les Monastères Bénédictins, 1216-1227* (ibid.); J. W. Thompson, *The Development of the Idea of Social Democracy and Social Justice in the Middle Ages* (American Journal of Sociology, March); O. G. von Wesendonk, *Ibn Chaldun* (Deutsche Rundschau, January); Malcolm Letts, *Law and Order in a Medieval Town [Bruges]* (Law Quarterly Review, April).

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Macmillan Company has brought out a text-book of *Modern History* for use in secondary schools, by Carlton J. H. Hayes and Parker T. Moon.

Messrs. Herder and Company, of Freiburg, have just issued the ninth volume of Freiherr von Pastor's *Geschichte der Päpste*, narrating the pontificate of Gregory XIII., 1572-1585, and a seventh volume, 1572-1581, of Father O. Braunsberger's *Beati Petri Canisii S. J. Epistulae et Acta*.

Students of the natural history of revolutions should be interested in Dr. Alexander Cartellieri's *Geschichte der Neueren Revolutionen vom Englischen Puritanismus bis zur Pariser Kommune* (Leipzig, Dyk, pp. 229); and in Professor A. Vierkandt's article "Zur Theorie der Revolution", in *Schmoller's Jahrbuch*, XLVI. 2.

The Ford Lectures given in the spring of 1922 by Sir Richard Lodge, professor in Edinburgh University, have been printed by the Clarendon Press, *Great Britain and Prussia in the Eighteenth Century*.

Side-lights on international relations during the period of the French Revolution are furnished by Ludovic Fortolis in *Les Anglais en France: des Cachots de la Terreur aux Géôles de l'Empire* (Paris, Perrin, 1923), and by K. Kersten in *Ein Europäischer Revolutionär, Georg Forster, 1754 bis 1794* (Berlin, Seehof, 1921, pp. 93).

Friedrich Kircheisen has published the fourth volume of his *Napoleon I., sein Leben und seine Zeit* (Munich, Müller, 1922), and his wife Gertrude Kircheisen the second volume of her *Napoleon und die Seinen* (Munich, Georg-Müller, pp. 352).

Brief surveys of the political and of the cultural history of the last century are furnished in two works by Hugo Preller, *Die Weltpolitik des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, Mittler, 1923, pp. ix, 217) and *Weltgeschichtliche Entwicklungslinien vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert in Kultur und Politik* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1922, pp. 115).

The *Souvenirs de la Princesse de Ligne* (1815-1850, born Princess Hedwig Lubomirska), derived from her papers by Princess Charles de Ligne (Paris and Brussels, G. Van Oest), are records of youth

passed partly in Poland and partly in exile, and of married life which she spent mainly in Paris from 1842 on, as the wife of Prince Eugène de Ligne, Austrian ambassador. Portions of his diplomatic correspondence relating to the period of Louis Philippe and the revolution of 1848 are included.

*L'Impérialisme Économique et les Relations Internationales pendant le Dernier Demi-Siècle, 1870-1920* (Paris, Colin, 1922, pp. 316), by Achille Viallate, is one of the most competent presentations of economic factors in the history of the last half-century which has yet been made in so concise a manner.

The Clarendon Press has published in a condensed form the first section of *Moltke's Military Correspondence, 1870-1871*, as originally brought out by the Prussian General Staff. The present installment (pp. 134), edited by Professor Spenser Wilkinson, extends to the battle of Sedan.

*Comparative History, 1878-1914*, is the title given to the work of William II., former emperor of Germany, which has been published by McBride in a translation by F. Appleby Holt.

The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a volume of *Documents Diplomatiques: Conférence de Washington* (Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1923, pp. 208). Léon Archimbaud has based his account of *La Conférence de Washington* (Paris, Payot, 1923) very largely upon official documents, so that it may be considered as a fairly authoritative presentation of the French view with reference to the conference and its work.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Cuvelier, *Les Préliminaires du Traité de Londres, 29 Août 1604* (*Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, April); L. Van der Essen, *Le Rôle d'un Ambassadeur au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (*ibid.*); Duc de La Force, *L'Ambassade Extraordinaire du Duc de Mayenne (1612), les Fiançailles d'Anne d'Autriche* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 1); L. B. Packard, *International Rivalry and Free Trade Origins, 1660-1678* (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May); F. Charles-Roux, *Une Négociation pour l'Évacuation de l'Égypte: la Convention d'El-Arich, 1800, I.* (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XXXVII. 1); L. de Chauvigny, *Un Consul Général de France à Smyrne: Choderlos de Laclos* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, April); H. H. Bellot, *The Detention of Napoleon Buonaparte* (*Law Quarterly Review*, April); M. Gavrilović, *The Early Diplomatic Relations of Great Britain and Serbia, III.* (*Slavonic Review*, March); Charles Borgeaud, *Le Fédéralisme en Suisse et aux États-Unis, I.* (*Revue de Genève*, April); F. Masson, *L'Italie Libérée, 1857, 1862, Lettres et Dépêches du Roi Victor-Emmanuel II. et du Comte de Cavour au Prince Napoléon, II.-IV.* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, February 1, 15, March 15); W. Platzhoff, *England und der Kaiserplan vom Frühjahr 1870* (*Historische Zeitschrift*,

CXXVII. 3); F. Salata, *La Questione Romana e la Triplice Alleanza secondo Nuovi Documenti Austro-Germanici* (Nuova Antologia, March 1); David Friday, *The Course of Agricultural Income during the Last Twenty-five Years* (American Economic Review, Supplement, March); E. M. Earle, *The Secret Anglo-German Convention of 1914 regarding Asiatic Turkey* (Political Science Quarterly, March).

### THE WORLD WAR

In the history of the war undertaken by the historical section of the British Committee of Imperial Defence, the volume entitled *Principal Events, 1914-1918* (London, Stationery Office, 1922, pp. 393) is very useful because of an admirably complete chronological supplement and an index. In the history of the war prepared by the French General Staff entitled *Armées Françaises dans la Grande Guerre*, the first volume is devoted to the battles of the frontiers (Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1922, pp. xv, 485).

An English translation of the book entitled *G. Q. G.*, by Jean de Pierrefeu, who wrote the daily official communiqué of France from 1915 until the end of the war, and who in this describes the work of the French general headquarters and its staff, is published by Harcourt, Brace, and Company.

The press of the General Service Schools at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, has issued in a stout volume of 910 pages, with accompanying maps, as a "Marne Source Book", the *German Offensive of July 15, 1918*, prepared by Colonel Conrad H. Lanza, U. S. A., and embracing American, French, and German documents, translated and ingeniously combined for thorough study of the operations in question. Most of the volume consists of documents hitherto unpublished, from the American and German military archives.

In the committee of the Reichstag which is investigating the causes of the German defeat, one of the subcommittees has published an important composite report on the offensive of 1918 by Colonel Bernhard Schwertfeger, General von Kuhl, and Professor Hans Delbrück, *Ursachen des Zusammenbruchs: Entstehung, Durchführung, und Zusammenbruch der Offensive von 1918* (Berlin, Hobbings). The first discusses at much length the question of political and military responsibility, the second the military basis of the German offensive, statistically considered, and Professor Delbrück the general situation and subject.

*The New Zealanders in Sinai and Palestine* (Dunedin, Whitcombe and Tombs), by Lieutenant-Colonel Guy C. Powles, from material compiled by Major A. Wilkie, is the third volume of the official history of New Zealand's effort in the Great War, of which previous volumes have been noted in these pages. The volume, which naturally deals with many picturesque events, will be of particular interest to the student of history



of cavalry operations, for, if the authors are right, the cavalry operations conducted in this theatre of the war exceeded in magnitude any that have been carried on since the days of Darius.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Général d'Amade, *Constantinople et les Dardanelles: l'Expédition de 1915*, II. (Revue des Questions Historiques, April).

#### GREAT BRITAIN

Many American students, and not only among those who are occupied with English history, but also many who are interested in the origin of the earlier American place-names, will wish to aid the survey of English place-names which has lately been begun, with the approval and encouragement of the British Academy. The English Place-Name Society has been formed to carry out this work, and will apply to it the co-operative effort of linguists, historians, palaeographers, archaeologists, and topographers, in such a manner as to insure an exceptionally scholarly and authoritative product. The minimum subscription is fifteen shillings, which will entitle members to receive the society's annual volumes. Subscriptions may be sent to the honorary secretary, Professor Allen Mawer of the University of Liverpool. Libraries can become members; we hope that many in America will do so.

Students having need of photographs of manuscripts in the British Museum can obtain gratis from the director the *Regulations for the Use of Photostat Apparatus in the Studio of the British Museum*.

A new *Cambridge Historical Journal*, planned to represent the activities and scope of the historical school of that university, and especially the work of research now progressing there, will be published by the Cambridge University Press under the editorship of Mr. H. W. V. Temperley, fellow of Peterhouse and reader in history in the university. The journal is to appear annually at first, the price of each number being six shillings.

The *Victoria History of the Counties of England*, which has been in abeyance for a considerable time owing to the war and its consequent difficulties, is to resume publication (St. Catherine Press). Mr. William Page will continue to act as general editor.

A recent study of the prehistoric period in Britain is *Ancient Man in Britain* (London, Blackie, 1923, pp. xv, 257) by D. A. Mackenzie.

Professor Jacques Chevalier, of the University of Grenoble, is the author of an elaborate *Essai sur la Formation de la Nationalité et les Réveils Religieux aux Pays de Galles, des Origines à la Fin du Sixième Siècle* (Paris, Alcan, 1923, pp. 437).

Dr. G. G. Coulton, fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, begins a series of three volumes entitled *Five Centuries of Religion* with a volume on *St. Bernard, his Predecessors and Successors* in the eleventh and

twelfth centuries (Cambridge University Press, pp. xlv, 578). The intention of the series is to deal primarily with religion in a medieval sense, namely, with the development of monasticism.

Messrs. Chapman and Dodd have published *The Worshipful Company of Grocers: an Historical Retrospect, 1325-1921*, by J. Aubrey Rees, based on unpublished material in the records of the company and of the city of London.

*English Diaries: a Review from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century, with an Introduction on Diary Writing*, by Arthur Ponsonby, M. P., has lately been published by Methuen.

Among the contents of the April number of the *Baptist Quarterly* is an article by Antonio Mangano on the Foreigner in America and one by W. T. Whitley on the Plantation of Ireland and the Early Baptist Churches.

*The Alliance of Hanover: a Study of British Foreign Policy in the Last Years of George I.*, by Mr. James F. Chance, whose knowledge of the field has already been made known by his volume on *George I. and the Northern War*, is announced by Longmans.

James Greig, in editing the *Farrington Diary* (London, Hutchinson, 1922, pp. xx, 398), has furnished an important contribution to acquaintance with life in the cultivated circles in London at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Joseph Farrington, the author of the diary, was a member of the Royal Academy. His keen observations are of interest not only for artistic and literary history, but also in political matters.

M. Élie Halévy undertook ten years ago the making of an *Histoire du Peuple Anglais au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*. The first volume, then published, portrayed the situation in 1815, the second volume, *Du Lendemain de Waterloo à la Veille du Reform Bill* (Paris, Hachette, 1923), begins the real historical narrative, and considers events from 1815 to 1830.

Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill has published an exposition and defense of his management as First Lord of the Admiralty, *The World Crisis, 1911-1914* (London, Thornton Butterworth).

In the April number of the *Scottish Historical Review* there are two articles of importance, one by Professor P. Geyl, professor of Dutch history and literature in the University of London, on William II. (of Holland) and the Stuarts; the other, by C. A. Malcolm, on The Office of Sheriff in Scotland (first installment).

British government publications: *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Richard II., vol. IV., 1389-1392; *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, XI., 1455-1464.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Commander H. D. Warburg, *Caesar's First Expedition to Britain* (*English Historical Review*, April);

R. G. Collingwood, *Hadrian's Wall* (*Journal of Roman Studies*, XI. 1); G. Macdonald, *The Building of the Antonine Wall* (*ibid.*); A. S. Cook, *Theodore of Tarsus and Gisleinus of Athens* (*Philological Quarterly*, January); R. Lennard, *The Northmen in English History* (*Quarterly Review*, April); Egerton Beck, *Regulars and the Parochial System in Medieval England* (*Dublin Review*, April-June); E. R. Turner, *The Origin of the Cabinet Council* (*English Historical Review*, April); R. C. Wilton, *A Catholic Family in Penal Times* (*Dublin Review*, April-June); R. L. Schuyler, *The Britannic Question and the American Revolution* (*Political Science Quarterly*, March); G. C. Allen, *An Eighteenth-Century Combination in the Copper-Mining Industry* (*Economic Journal*, March); H. W. V. Temperley, *Canning, Wellington, and George the Fourth* (*English Historical Review*, April); Lord Ernle, *Victorian Memoirs and Memories* (*Quarterly Review*, April).

#### IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 816; for India, see p. 802.)

Professor R. A. S. Macalister has a new book on *Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times* (Dublin and London, Maunsell, 1922, pp. 139).

In *The Judges in Ireland, 1221-1921*, Dr. F. Elrington Ball, son of a former lord chancellor of Ireland, reviews the appointments made by England to the judicial bench in Ireland, with biographical sketches of the judges and a survey of their work and of legal development during the seven centuries.

An important figure in Irish history of Cromwell's time is carefully treated by Dr. Archibald W. M. Kerr in *An Ironside of Ireland: the Remarkable Career of Lieut.-General Michael Jones, Governor of Dublin and Commander of the Parliamentary Forces in Leinster, 1647-1649* (London, Heath Cranton).

*South Australian Land Exploration, 1856 to 1880*, by Bessie Threadgill, of the University of Adelaide, is published by the board of governors of the Public Library, Museum, and Art Gallery of South Australia, as no. 3 of the series *Historical Compilations based upon the Study of Original Documents*. The work is in two parts, one of text and one of maps. The record of these explorations, whereby the haunting mystery of the interior was solved and the way opened for the advance of civilization, is a story of remarkable interest.

The December number of the *Victorian Historical Magazine* contains the third of the papers of Charles R. Long on Memorials to Victorian Explorers and Pioneers and the conclusion of Thomas O'Callaghan's account of Early Inns of Port Phillip and Victoria.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Laenen, *Het Iersch College te Antwerpen* (*Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis*, October).

## FRANCE

Late in April there was founded at Paris a Société des Études Napoléoniennes, whose objects are indicated by its title, and which will take over as its organ the *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*. The dues of foreign members will be fifty francs.

The Library of Princeton University has acquired a set, in seven large folio volumes, of the manuscript minutes of the Commission de Liquidation, which from 1816 to 1818 adjudicated the minor questions of financial policy and the claims arising out of the Napoleonic wars. The manuscript includes the minutes for the sessions held between June 22, 1816, and May 21, 1818. The minutes of the first twenty sessions are unfortunately missing.

The *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, 1923, 1, has an interesting article by M. Henri Dehéraïn on the mission of the Baron de Tott and of Pierre Ruffin to the Khan of the Crimea in 1767-1769. M. F.-P. Renaut's monograph on the Family Compact in its relations to French colonial interests is continued from the Falkland Islands episode to the outbreak of war with Great Britain in 1778; but his whole narrative can now be read as a book, *Le Pacte de Famille et la Politique Coloniale Franco-Espagnole en Amérique, 1760-1792*.

The Marquis de Noailles has issued the first volume of *Le Comte Molé, 1781-1855, sa Vie, ses Mémoires*, the first volume carrying the narrative to 1816 (Paris, Champion, 1923, pp. 356). Another volume of the same period is the *Souvenirs du Général Comte de Rumigny, Aide-de-Camp du Roi Louis-Philippe, 1789-1860* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1921, pp. xvi, 378).

An important contribution to the study of the relations between Church and State in France at the close of the nineteenth century is by the late Cardinal Domenico Ferrata, entitled *Mémoires: ma Nonciature en France* (Paris, Édition Spes, 1922, pp. 632).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Hessel, *Odo von Cluni und das Französische Kulturproblem im früheren Mittelalter* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXVIII, 1); F. C. Palm, *The Huguenot System of Higher Education* (University of California Chronicle, April); F. Rocquain, *Henri III. et les Guises, la Journée des Barricades* (Revue Bleue, April 21, May 5); Pierre de Vaissière, *Les Marillac et Richelieu, la Journée des Dupes* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); F. C. Palm, *The Siege and Capture of La Rochelle in 1628: its Economic Significance* (Journal of Political Economy, February); H. W. C. Davis, *French Foreign Policy since 1789* (Quarterly Review, April); Comte Molé, *Le Ministère Richelieu, 1815, I.* (Revue de Paris, May 1); W. P. Cresson, *Chateaubriand and the Monroe Doctrine* (North American Review, April); G. Gautherot, *Deux Alliés de la Duchesse de Berry: le Duc de Modène et le Roi de Sardaigne* (Revue des Questions Historiques,

April); Guy de Montbel, *Le Mariage Secret de la Duchesse de Berry Journal du Comte de Montbel* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15, May 1); Marquis de Calmon-Maison, *Les Journées de Février 1848, d'après des Souvenirs Inédits* (ibid., March 15); R. Lévy-Guénol, *Les Fortifications de Paris, 1841-1860, 1871-1919* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May); J. A. R. Marriott, *Napoleon III.* (Edinburgh Review, April); F. Lion, *Frankreichs Aeusserer Politik 1870 bis 1914*, II. (Neue Rundschau, February).

#### ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

As volume XLV. of the *Archivio de la R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* the society presents a general index to volumes XXVI.-XL. (pp. 317).

Robert Davidsohn has issued the fourth volume of his *Geschichte von Florenz* (Berlin, Mittler, 1922, pp. xii, 374), dealing with the earlier period of the city's cultural development. Another contribution to Florentine history is *Firenze dopo i Medici* (Florence, Bemporad, 1921), by Giuseppe Conti.

Among recent monographic contributions to the history of Sicily in the Middle Ages are V. Orlando's *Ricerche sulla Storia di Sicilia sotto Ferdinando di Castiglia* (Palermo, Montaina, 1922, pp. 214) and L. Genuardi's *Il Comune nel Medio Evo in Sicilia* (Palermo, Fiorenze, 1922, pp. 272).

Signor Giolitti's autobiography, translated from the Italian under the title *Memoirs of my Life*, was published in London in May, by Messrs. Chapman and Dodd.

Señor A. González Palencia, in his *Indice de la España Sagrada* (Madrid, 1919, pp. 360), has provided an instrument indispensable to all who have occasion to use the fifty-one quarto volumes of the *España Sagrada*.

Heinrich Finke has brought out the third volume of his *Acta Aragonensia: Quellen zur Deutschen, Italienischen, Französischen, Spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der Diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II.*, 1291-1327 (Berlin, Rothschild, 1922, pp. lx, 583), of which the first two volumes (1908) have been heretofore reviewed in this journal (XIII. 566).

Comte de Pimodan has written a life of the unfortunate queen *Louise-Élisabeth d'Orléans* (Paris, Plon, 1923, pp. xix, 393), wife of Luis I. of Spain, and daughter of the Regent Orleans.

*La Dominació Napoleónica a Girona* (Barcelona, *La Revista*, 1922, pp. 143), by Charles Rahola, is not only a study in local history of the period of the Peninsular War, but gives due credit to the reform measures undertaken in Spain by Napoleon.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Sthamer, *Die Verlorenen Register Karls I. von Anjou* (Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1923, II.); A. Pingaud, *Le Premier Royaume d'Italie: le Développement du Système Napoléonien*, I. (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May); H. N. Gay, *Garibaldi e Filippo Colonna alla Battaglia di Velletri* (Nuova Antologia, March 1); M. Vaccalluzzo, *La Crisi di un Uomo Politico, Massimo d'Azeglio e il Trasferimento della Capitale* (ibid., May 1); A. Morel-Fatio, *Les Allemands en Espagne du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Revista de Filología Española, July, 1922).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Dr. Herbert Vossberg's *Luthers Kritik aller Religion* (Leipzig, Deichert, pp. 133) treats, with intelligence and care, not only Luther's expressions respecting various individual religions, but also his view of religion in general.

P. Kalkoff has made an exhaustive, though apparently not definitive, study of *Der Wormser Reichstag von 1521: Biographische und Quellenkritische Studien zur Reformationsgeschichte* (Munich, Oldenbourg, pp. viii, 436).

The Hansische Geschichtsverein of Lübeck, with Dutch aid, is about to publish the second volume of its *Niederländische Akten und Urkunden zur Geschichte der Hansa und der Deutschen Seegeschichte von 1531-1648*, ed. R. Häpke.

The history of Germany during the period of the French Revolution and of Napoleon is retold in Hartung's *Deutschlands Zusammenbruch und Erhebung im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution, 1792-1815* (Leipzig, Velhagen and Klasing, 1922). Beginning with the same period, but continuing the narrative to the present, Fritz Wuessing writes *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes vom Ausgang des Achtzehnten Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart: ein Sozial-psychologischer Versuch* (Berlin, Schneider, 1922, pp. viii, 315).

The latest contribution of Professor Michael Doeberl to Bavarian history is *Bayern und die Deutsche Frage in der Epoche des Frankfurter Parlaments* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1922, pp. x, 266). A biography of Ludwig II., *König von Bayern: sein Leben und seine Zeit* (Berlin, Engelmann, 1922, pp. xvi, 701) is by Gottfried von Böhm.

*The Emperor Francis Joseph and his Times* (London, Hutchinson, 1922, pp. 391) is a translation of Freiherr von Margutti's *Vom Alten Kaiser: Persönliche Erinnerungen an Franz Joseph I.* (Vienna, Leonhardt-Verlag, 1921, pp. 472). A volume of *Politische Briefe an einen Freund, 1882-1889* (Vienna, Rikola, 1922) by Kronprinz Rudolph has been edited by Julius Szeps. *Der Politische Nachlass des Grafen Eduard Taaffe* (ibid., 1922) is edited by Arthur Skedl.

The first two volumes of *Geschichte Böhmens und Mährens* (Reichenberg, Sollors, 1922) carry the narrative respectively to 1419 and 1620. Another contribution to early Bohemian history is W. Wostry's *Das Kolonisationsproblem: eine Ueberprüfung der Theorien über die Herkunft der Deutschen in Böhmen* (Prague, Selbstverlag des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen, pp. v, 168).

Mgr. M. Besson, bishop of Lausanne and Geneva, has published a scholarly and interesting contribution to early Swiss history under the title *Nos Origines Chrétiennes: Études sur les Commencements du Christianisme en Suisse Romande* (Fribourg, Fragnière, pp. 142).

The second and concluding portion of volume XXXII. of the *Mémoires et Documents* published by the Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie of Geneva (Geneva, A. Jullien, pp. 245-731) contains some forty pages of journal for the important year 1589 kept by the syndic Jean Du Villard, an able and energetic citizen, and the monograph by Dr. Henri Naef, reviewed in this journal (XXVIII. 153), on the relation, or alleged relation, of Geneva to the Conspiracy of Amboise.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. Stolz, *Die Verkehrsverbindungen des Oberen Rhein- und Donaugebietes um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins, n. s., XXXVIII.); G. Aengeneydt, *Die Okkupation des Kurfürstentums Hannover in 1803* (Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen, LXXXVII.); H. Ulmann, *Störungen im Vertragssystem Bismarcks Ende 1887* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXVIII. 1); H. Rothfels, *Bismarcks Sturz als Forschungsproblem* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The situation in Holland at the outbreak of the war and the movement of opinion with reference to the war are embodied in *Aux Frontières de l'Idée: une Campagne de Presse en Hollande, Octobre 1914-Juillet 1915* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1922, pp. 212) by E. Giran.

*Henri l'Aveugle, Comte de Namur et de Luxembourg, 1136-1196* (Paris, Champion, 1922, pp. 126), by F. Rousseau, and *Les Origines de la Fortune de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau* (Brussels, Lamertin, 1921, pp. 114), by J. Cuvelier, are useful studies in the medieval history of the Low Countries.

Alfred d'Hoop has edited the third volume dealing with abbeys in the *Inventaire Général des Archives Ecclésiastiques du Brabant* (Brussels, Guyot, 1922, pp. 505).

Professor Léon Van der Essen has written a survey of the history of *L'Université de Louvain, 1425-1797* (Paris, Poisson, 1922, pp. 175).



## NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Kiesewetter, *Klyuchevsky and his "Course of Russian History"* (Slavonic Review, March); Baron S. A. Korff, *Russia in the Far East* (American Journal of International Law, April); Prince D. S. Mirsky, *The Ukraine* (Quarterly Review, April); Comte W. Kokovtsov, *Cinq Ans de Dictature Bolchévique: le Bilan Économique* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1).

## SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The Ungarische Institut, founded in 1920 at the University of Berlin, brings out, as one of a series of such monographs, *Die Kenntnis der Byzantinischen Geschichtsschreiber von der Ältesten Geschichte der Ungarn* (Berlin, de Gruyter, pp. 50), by Herbert Schönebaum, illustrating the period before the beginning of the occupation of Hungary in 895.

Two good monographs on Hungarian history are *Die Reformation in Ungarn bis 1565* (Budapest, Genius, 1923, pp. 485), by J. Zoványi, and *Geschichte der Ungarischen Juden, seit der Landnahme bis zum Weltkrieg* (Budapest, Hauptstädtische Verlagsanstalt, 1923, pp. 488), by L. Venetianer.

A contribution to the cultural history of Rumania is contained in *Une Famille de Boyards Lettrés Roumains au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle, les Gólesco* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. vii, 294).

The more recent developments in Turkish history are discussed from a Turkish point of view by Ahmed Muhiddin in *Die Kulturbewegung im Modernen Türkentum* (Leipzig, Gebhardt, 1921, pp. vii, 72).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. W. Seton-Watson, *Transylvania, II.* (Slavonic Review, March); A. F. Pribram, *König Milan von Serbien und die Geheimverträge Oesterreich-Ungarns und Serbiens, 1881-1889* (Historische Blätter, 1922, 3); Lady Grogan, *Bulgaria under Prince Alexander* (Slavonic Review, March); A. L. P. Dennis, *The United States and the New Turkey* (North American Review, June); L. E. Thayer, *The Capitulations of the Ottoman Empire and the Question of their Abrogation as it affects the United States* (American Journal of International Law, April).

## ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

A very important contribution to Mohammedan history is *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate* (7 vols., Oxford, University Press, 1920-1921), containing extensive translations and annotations by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth.

Comte R. de Gontaut-Biron, who was associated with Georges Picot during his services as high commissioner, has narrated *Comment la France s'est Installée en Syrie, 1918-1919* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. iii, 358). A more recent view of the situation is afforded by Abdallah Sfer

Pacha in *Le Mandat Français et les Traditions Françaises en Syrie et au Liban* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. iii, 103), while an interesting discussion is contained in the anonymous *La Syrie et le Liban en 1921* (Paris, Larose, 1922, pp. 335).

In Trübner's Oriental Series Messrs. Kegan Paul are publishing a study of *Early Buddhist Monachism*, by Professor Sukumar Dutt, based on original researches, and describing life and learning in the ancient Buddhist monasteries.

Observations made during a journey in 1918 are recorded by Eric Teichmann in *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet, together with a History of the Relations between China, Tibet, and India* (Cambridge University Press, 1922, pp. xxiv, 288), though the historical account of political relations is also valuable.

Professor H. Cordier has begun the publication of a second edition of his well-known *Bibliotheca Sinica* (part I., Paris, Geuthner, 1922, pp. 160).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Wätjen, *Der Fremdenhandel in China nach dem Opiumkriege* (*Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, January).

#### AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

René Millet is the author of an historical account of *Les Almohades: Histoire d'une Dynastie Berbère* (Paris, Challamel, 1923), a Mohammedan dynasty important in the history of both North Africa and Spain in the Middle Ages.

E. Levi-Provençal has written *Les Historiens des Chorfa, Essai sur la Littérature et Biographie au Maroc du XI<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, Larose, 1922). A discussion of *Les Relations Franco-Espagnoles et l'Affaire du Maroc* (Paris, 1921, pp. 252) is furnished by J. Alengry. Captain Caussin gives a characteristic account of military experience in Morocco in *Vers Taza, Souvenirs de Deux Ans de Campagne au Maroc* (Paris, Fournier, 1922, pp. ix, 287). An official survey of the first ten years of French administration in Morocco published by the French residency is entitled *La Renaissance du Maroc, Dix Ans de Protectorat* (Paris, Maison du Livre Français, 1923, pp. 496).

A *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de l'Algérie après 1830* has been inaugurated with the publication by Gabriel Esquer of three volumes of *Correspondance du Duc de Roxigo, Commandant en Chef le Corps d'Occupation d'Afrique, 1831-1833* (Paris, Champion, 1923). An important study of government finance is *Les Impôts Arabes en Algérie; leur Suppression; leur Remplacement* (Algiers, Carbonel, 1922, pp. 152) by L. M. Troussel.

*La Révolution Égyptienne* (Paris, Vrin, 1921, pp. 277), by M. Sabry, and *L'Angleterre en Égypte* (Paris, Geuthner, 1922, pp. 416), by Juliette

Lamber (Madame Adam), are useful contributions as setting forth substantially the Egyptian nationalist point of view.

*Kumbuke: Erlebnisse eines Arztes in Deutsch Ostafrika* (Berlin, Dom-Verlag, 1922, pp. 328), by August Hauer, affords a good picture of the character of German colonization in East Africa, and also of the defense of that colony during the Great War.

French colonization in Western and Central Africa furnished the subject for *Études sur l'Islam en Côte d'Ivoire* (Paris, Leroux, 1922, pp. 502), by Paul Marty, *Au Congo: Souvenirs de la Mission Marchand* (Paris, Fayard, 1921), by Général Baratier, and *Une Étape de la Conquête de l'Afrique Équatoriale Française* (Paris, Fournier, 1922, pp. 260), published by the Ministry of War.

### AMERICA

#### GENERAL ITEMS

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published vol. II. of its series of *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, edited by Dr. Edmund C. Burnett. This volume (pp. lxxiii, 638) embraces 795 letters and parts of letters, for the period from July 5, 1776, to December 31, 1777, which convey information regarding the doings of the Congress additional to what is contained in its Journals. The first volume of the series of *Proceedings and Debates in British Parliaments respecting America*, which the Department of Historical Research has long had in preparation, is now in the printer's hands. It extends from 1542 to 1689, and embraces all the materials which have been discovered relative to English, Scottish, and Irish Parliaments alike.

Among recent accessions of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress we note a group of some 13 letters to James Monroe from Beverley Randolph, Christopher Hughes, and others, 1785-1826; 6 letters of Andrew Jackson to William J. Duane, 1833; 11 of Thaddeus Stevens and 14 of Simon Cameron to William D. Lewis, 1836-1866; and papers of Charles J. Bonaparte and Robert C. Ogden. The Library has published for 1922 the usual annual pamphlet of its *Accessions of Manuscripts, Broad-sides, and British Transcripts*.

*Source Materials for the Study of American History in the Libraries of Chicago*, by George B. Utley, is reprinted from the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. XVI., pt. 1 (1922).

The *Thirty-Fourth Annual Report (1912-1913)* of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Government Printing Office, 1922, pp. 281) is largely occupied with "A Prehistoric Island Culture Area of America", by J. Walter Fewkes, principally a report upon the prehistoric objects from the West Indies in the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) in 1914, but embodies also the results of personal investiga-

tion by the author in a number of the West Indian islands and in museums abroad. The author states that his aim has been "not so much a description of the specimens as a consideration of a highly developed insular culture peculiar to America as a whole preparatory to a comparison of it with that of the neighboring continent".

*Bulletin 77* of the Bureau of American Ethnology is a study of the *Villages of the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan Tribes West of the Mississippi*, by David I. Bushnell, jr. The author essays, by means chiefly of the earlier accounts of the Indians of this region, to describe their homes and ways of life. The work is richly illustrated with early drawings and photographs.

The contents of the December number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* include: the Blackgowns among the Abnakis, by Carmita de Solms Jones; the Rev. Samuel Southerland Cooper (1769-1843), by Ella M. E. Flick; and the Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States, Diocese of Little Rock (1851-1921), by Sister Mary Eulalia Herron.

In a small book in the historical series published under the auspices of the Knights of Columbus, *The Merchant Marine, "a Necessity in Time of War; a Source of Independence and Strength in Time of Peace"* (New York, Macmillan, pp. xi, 183), Rear Admiral William S. Benson, chairman in 1920-1921 of the United States Shipping Board, presents a brief history of our merchant marine mostly based on the works of Marvin, Spears, and Bates, but brought down to the present time by an account of recent legislation and the operations of the Shipping Board; with the history is mingled argument for government aid.

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

More than 400 members of the four Inns of Court in London are associated with America by birth or residence, and almost all of these were persons to whom historical interest attaches. Mr. E. Alfred Jones prints in a limited edition (Arden Press, Stamford Street, London, S. C.) a volume listing all these and presenting biographical sketches of each.

The Allerton Book Company has brought out in its series of *American Explorers* Cadwallader Colden's *History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada* (New York, 1727), in two volumes, with an introduction by Robert Waite; also Daniel W. Harmon's *Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America* (Andover, Vermont, 1820).

Mr. Harold Murdock's *The Nineteenth of April, 1775* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin), issued in a limited edition with copperplate illustrations, is an endeavor to examine afresh and restate the evidence as to what happened in the conflict at Lexington and Concord.

*The Creation of the Presidency, 1775-1789: a Study in Constitutional History*, by Charles C. Thach, jr., is a recent number of the *Johns*

*Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.* Dr. Thach does not confine his study to the presidency as created by the Federal Convention of 1787, but devotes 75 of the 177 pages of text to an examination of the general political tendencies, of the state executive power, and of the national executive power in the period from 1776 to 1787; for the experiences of this period lie at the foundation of the ideas manifest in the Convention. Furthermore, the author holds that the first Congress under the Constitution had an essentially creative part in determining the character of the presidency and therefore devotes a chapter to a study of its proceedings relative to the office.

*Danish-American Diplomacy, 1776-1920* (pp. 171), by Soren J. M. P. Fogdall (briefly noted heretofore), is a University of Iowa dissertation. Except in the matter of the Sound Dues and the transfer of the Virgin Islands, the history of Danish-American relations is a tame story, and Mr. Fogdall has neither the ripe knowledge nor the skill to make it otherwise. He has however investigated it with care and thoroughness, and produced a serviceable contribution. The subject will not have to be treated again, unless there are unsuspected matters in the old files of our Department of State. To these he was refused access, though permitted to use the corresponding archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Copenhagen.

*Smith College Studies in History*, vol. VIII., no. 1 (October), is *The Ship Subsidy Question in United States Politics*, by Marguerite M. McKee. In her study of the question the author finds four rather well-defined periods and phases up to the year 1914: that preceding 1845, a period of varied experiments in the aid of shipping; that from 1845 to 1865, characterized by a disposition to aid steamship lines for carrying the mails; that from 1865 to 1891, during which the interest lay particularly in establishing lines to South America and the East; and the period from 1891 to 1914, characterized by a large grant of power to the postmaster general for making mail contracts.

One of the chief collections of Lincolniana is that made by Mr. Charles W. McClellan of Champlain, New York, numbering over 3700 volumes and pamphlets, many autographs, broadsides, and other pieces. This collection has now been presented by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jr., to the John Hay Library of Brown University.

*Abraham Lincoln as a Man of Letters*, by Luther E. Robinson, is from the press of Putnam. *Abraham Lincoln as a Man among Men*, by G. Lynn Sumner, is a study of Lincoln's personal relations with the men who knew him (Harper and Brothers).

M. R. Werner is the author of a life of P. T. Barnum, the showman, which Harcourt, Brace, and Company have published with the title *Barnum*. The book is illustrated from contemporary sources.

Mr. Solomon B. Griffin, managing editor of the *Springfield Republican* from 1878 to 1919, has published a book of reminiscences, chiefly political, entitled *People and Politics Observed by a Massachusetts Editor* (New York, McDevitt-Wilson).

The firm of Scribner has published *From McKinley to Harding: Personal Recollections of our Presidents*, by H. H. Kohlsaatt.

*America of Yesterday: as Reflected in the Journal of John Davis Long*, by Lawrence S. Mayo, is of especial interest because of the light cast upon men and measures during the Spanish-American War by this journal of McKinley's secretary of the navy.

D. Appleton and Company have brought out a volume entitled *The Ideals of Theodore Roosevelt*, by Edward H. Cotton, with a preface by Corinne Roosevelt Robinson.

The Bureau of the Census has published (Government Printing Office) a notable volume by William S. Rossiter, *Increase of Population in the United States, 1910-1920*, in which are presented invaluable statistical deductions respecting changes in the population of the states, counties, and rural and urban areas, and in sex, color, and nativity, between the thirteenth and fourteenth censuses.

The Haldeman-Julius Company of Girard, Kansas, has included in the *Ten Cent Pocket Series* (no. 125) the *War Speeches and Addresses of Woodrow Wilson*.

The historical section of the Army War College has prepared *Signal Corps and Air Service: a Study of their Expansion in the U. S., 1917-1918* (Government Printing Office, pp. viii, 128).

The report of Colonel Le Henaff and Captain Bornecque on the problems of transportation involved in the coming of the American army to France has been translated by George T. Slade for private circulation. The pamphlet (28 pp.) bears the title *The French Railroads and the War, Third Part: American Transportation*, and contains, besides an introduction by the translator, an informing preface by Colonel William J. Wilgus, the one member of the American railway commission sent to France in the spring of 1917 who remained attached to the transportation corps.

*The War Record of Dartmouth College*, by Eugene Francis Clark, is published in Hanover, New Hampshire, by the college.

*A History of the American Legion*, by Marquis James, with an introductory preface by Alvin Owsley, national commander, is published by William Green, 627 West 43d Street, New York.

*The Amazing Story of Henry Ford*, etc., is from the pen of James M. Miller and the press of M. A. Donohue and Company, Chicago.

## LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

## NEW ENGLAND

The *Centennial of the Maine Historical Society* is commemorated in a pamphlet of fifty-one pages containing addresses delivered on that occasion by President K. C. M. Sills, of Bowdoin College, and Hon. Augustus F. Moulton, of Portland.

The *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for October–November contains a group of characteristically vigorous letters about New England matters from Captain Thomas Coram, the establisher of the Foundling Hospital in London, Franklin's accounts against the Massachusetts house of representatives as their agent, a series of letters of Barbeu-Dubourg, French scientist, to Franklin, and a paper by Harold Murdock on the British at Concord in April, 1775. The *Proceedings* for December–January includes an important article by Captain Thomas G. Frothingham on the Crisis of the Civil War—Antietam. The society has issued the fourth volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, embracing the three sessions of the years 1722–1723. The beginning of the war with the eastern Indians and the efforts of the house to control and punish certain officers engaged in it, have the chief place of importance in the volume. A portrait of Jeremiah Dummer is prefixed. During the present year the society expects to publish, besides additional volumes of *Proceedings* and of this *Journal*, the second volume of the *Warren-Adams Letters* and the first volume of the *Winthrop Papers*, a series of great importance for early New England history whose publication has been provided for by a special fund. During the past year four more years of the photostat reproduction of the *Boston News Letter*, 1751–1754, have been distributed to twenty-two libraries widely scattered throughout the United States, completing the reproduction from the first issue of the newspaper in 1704 to the end of 1754. Seven subscribing libraries are receiving reproductions of North Carolina newspapers of date prior to 1800.

The April number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* continues the paper of Francis B. C. Bradlee on the Suppression of Piracy in the West Indies and that of G. G. Putnam on Salem Vessels and their Voyages.

The Marine Research Society of Salem, Massachusetts, issued last autumn an illustrated volume on *The Sailing Ships of New England, 1607–1907*, of which all copies were sold within a few months. It now has in preparation a second volume, *Piracy along the New England Coast, 1630–1730*, of about 450 pages large octavo, and 40 or more plates, edited by George F. Dow.

The April number of the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections* contains an account, by Howard M. Chapin, of the Discovery of the Real Palatine Ship, of which there have been various traditions, and the sixth



of Professor Edmund B. Delabarre's papers on the Inscribed Rocks of Narragansett Bay, "Mark Rock" in Warwick.

*Groton, Connecticut, 1705-1905*, by Charles R. Stark, has been published in Stonington by the Palmer Press.

#### MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The January number of the *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association contains a paper by A. T. Volwiler on George Croghan and the Development of Central New York, 1763-1800; one by W. R. Blackie on the Indians of New York and Vicinity; and one on Our Colonial Heritage of Community Medicine, by Elizabeth Tandy. There is also an account of the annual meeting of the association at Lake Mohonk, Sept. 26-28, 1922.

The April number of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* contains a paper by Caroline R. Williams entitled Material bearing upon the New Discoveries in Egypt; one by William L. Carver on the British Army Button in the American Revolution; and the concluding installment of the catalogue of American Revolutionary Diaries, by Dr. William S. Thomas.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for March prints the second part of the diary of Erastus F. Beadle upon a journey to and in Nebraska in 1857. The April *Bulletin* chronicles two important accessions of manuscripts, the original deed of the patroonship of Rensselaerswyck, 1630, and the unique manuscript of Hakluyt's "Particular Discourse of Western Discoveries", 1584.

The April number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* contains, besides continuations, a paper by Professor Charles F. Philhower on the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Union County, and one by Samuel C. Worthen on Witches in New Jersey and Elsewhere.

The New Brunswick Historical Club has printed in a pamphlet the record of a *Memorial Meeting for Austin Scott, Ph.D., LL.D.*, late professor of history in Rutgers College, and one of the founders of the American Historical Association.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has lately come into possession of the ledger, 1703-1708, of William Trent, an early Philadelphia merchant, and of the letter-book, 1771-1775, of William Smith, a Philadelphia broker.

The April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains a eulogistic study, by Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, of Philander Chase Knox, American Lawyer, Patriot, Statesman, and a continuation of Mr. A. T. Volwiler's papers on George Croghan and the Westward Movement (1741-1782).

Recent *Papers* read before the Lancaster County Historical Society include Washington's First Visit to Lancaster and the Observance of his Death, by William F. Worner (December 1); Some Unknown Early Pioneer Notables of Lancaster County, by Eleanor J. Fulton (January 5); Early Lancaster County History in the Provincial Records and Archives, compiled by H. Frank Eshleman, read by Benjamin B. Lippold (February 2); and the Peach Bottom Railway Company, by D. F. Magee (April 6).

*A History of Perry County, Pennsylvania*, by Harry H. Hain, is published in Harrisburg by the Hain-Moore Company.

The April number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains a paper by Robert Garland on the Scotch-Irish in Western Pennsylvania, and one by I. F. Boughter on Western Pennsylvania and the Morrill Tariff.

#### SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* includes, besides continuations, some Abstracts of Old Baltimore County Records, by McHenry Howard, and some Maryland Items from Delaware Records, contributed by Rev. C. H. B. Turner.

The April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* has for its principal content the concluding installment of William Tindall's True Story of the *Virginia* and the *Monitor*.

The April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* prints a series of fourteen letters from John Marshall to his wife, 1797-1831. Among the other contents are some Additional Notes on the French and Indian War, by Charles E. Kemper, and an Account of the Manner of Taking up and Patenting of Land in her Majesty's Colony and Dominion of Virginia with Reasons humbly offered for the Continuance thereof, sent to the Board of Trade about 1705 by William Robertson, clerk of the general assembly.

The April number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains a contribution by P. G. Auchampaugh of Buffalo, New York, upon the relations between John B. Floyd and James Buchanan; Famous Battles as a Confederate Private saw them, being a narrative by Samuel E. Mays; a continuation of the letters of James Monroe from the correspondence of Dr. Charles Everett; and some letters from the governor's letter-books (1781-1782), two of them being from Governor Nelson, five from Governor Harrison, one from Lieutenant-Governor David Jameson, and one from the treasurer, George Webb.

Mr. Charles Edward Burrell is the author of *A History of Prince Edward County, Virginia*, compiled mainly from original records and personally contributed articles (Richmond, Williams).

*Studies in the History of North Carolina: a Programme for Women's Clubs*, by R. D. W. Connor, has been issued as a University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin (vol. III., no. 3).

Professor R. W. Kelsey contributes to the July (1922) number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, in English translation, two letters of Swiss settlers in South Carolina, written by Antony Gondy and Samuel Dyssli, 1733, 1737, presenting sharply contrasting pictures of South Carolina. The first of these letters appeared in the original German in volume XXII. of this journal (p. 115). St. Helena's Parish Register, contributed by Joseph W. Barnwell and Miss Mabel L. Webber, is continued.

Under the direction of Mr. John B. Stetson, jr., and Mrs. Washington E. Connor, the new Florida State Historical Society is conducting a thoroughgoing search for Florida material in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. Catalogue cards of all the papers relating to Florida in the section for the Audiencia of Santo Domingo have already been completed, and work on the section "Papeles de Cuba" has been begun. The work is being done by the competent hands of Miss Irene A. Wright. Circulars respecting Miss Wright's services of search in these archives and of copying, by typewriter or by photography, may be obtained from the editor of this journal, who is in a position to commend cordially her work.

*The Formative Period in Alabama, 1815-1828*, by Thomas P. Abernethy, is published by the Alabama State Department of Archives and History in its *Historical and Patriotic Series* (no. 6). The study is principally economic in character: an examination of the influences of geography and soil, origins of the immigrants and lines of migration, early agriculture, commerce, etc.; only so much of politics as is requisite for a proper understanding of conditions—that is, until 1824, when political questions (themselves largely economic) become an essential ingredient in the life of this frontier region; then the author traces the lines of political development. The study is closed with a chapter on religion, education, and the press, one on social conditions and slavery, and one of general conclusion.

Among the contents of the July (1922) number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* are: Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage (a study of his work, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, Paris, 1904), by Miss Grace King; Politics in Louisiana in 1724, by Henry P. Dart; the Virginians on the Ohio and Mississippi in 1742, by Fairfax Harrison; the Municipal Elections of 1858, by John S. Kendall; and the Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana (1736-1737).

## WESTERN STATES

An extra number (February) of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the year 1920-1921. The following papers are included: State and Local History, by Clarence H. McClure; Popularizing State History, by Floyd C. Shoemaker; the Mohegan Indians East and West, by George A. Wood; the Character and Leadership of Stephen A. Douglas, by William O. Lynch; Ohio's German-Language Press in the Campaign of 1920, by Carl Wittke; the Attempt of New Orleans to meet the Crisis in her Trade with the West, by Erastus P. Puckett; and History in the State Normal Schools, by Walter B. Davison. Articles in the March number are: Old Franklin, a Frontier Town of the Twenties, by Jonas Viles; Kentucky Neutrality in 1861, by Wilson P. Shortridge; Céloron de Blainville and French Expansion in the Ohio Valley, by George A. Wood; and the journal of two westward journeys of John Filson, 1785, edited by Beverley W. Bond, jr.

The January number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is devoted almost exclusively to a monograph, Lincoln and Ohio, by Daniel J. Ryan. Mr. C. B. Galbreath furnishes an introduction.

The January-March number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society* contains the sixth installment of selections from the Gano Papers (1813-1814), which includes several letters from General Gano to General William H. Harrison.

The two principal articles in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are Personal Politics in Indiana, 1860 to 1880, by Adam A. Leonard, and the Family History of Robert Owen, by Arthur H. Estabrook.

A recent issue of the Indiana Historical Society's *Publications* is: *The Science of Columbus*, by Elizabeth Miller.

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* combines the numbers for October, 1921, and January, 1922, into a single issue. Chief among the contents is a monograph on the Spoon River Country, by Josephine C. Chandler. Among the other papers are: a History of the Gallatin County Salines, by Jacob W. Myers; a Biographical Sketch of John W. Casey, by his daughter, Ella M. Kretschmar; and Early Schools and Churches of Edgar County, by Rose M. Scott.

As the first fruit of its projected history of *Illinois in the World War*, the Illinois State Historical Society has brought out *The History of the 33rd Division, A. E. F.*, in four volumes, by Lieutenant-Colonel Frederic L. Huidekoper. The narrative history, occupying some 300 pages, is comprised in volume I. and relates the history of the division from its

organization in August, 1917, to its demobilization in June, 1919. The period of training at Camp Logan, Houston, Texas, and departure for France in June, 1918, are briefly described in a single chapter; the several phases of the division's operations in France are related in a series of nine chapters, followed by one of conclusions and comment. The narrative is accompanied by about 150 pages of explanatory notes. Volumes II. and III. consist of appendixes of documents: diaries, journals, orders, plans, reports, correspondence, statistical records, decorations, etc. Volume IV. is a portfolio of maps.

Among the contents of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (January-April, nos. 3, 4) are the Cahokia Mission Property, by Joseph J. Thompson; Illinois' First Citizen: Pierre Gibault, by the same writer; and the Log Chapel at Notre Dame, by Mary E. Sullivan.

*Kentucky Baptist History, 1770-1922*, by Rev. William D. Nowlin, is published by the Baptist Book Concern of Louisville.

A special building erected at Ann Arbor for the William L. Clements Library was dedicated with appropriate exercises on June 15, when building and library were formally presented to the University of Michigan by Mr. Clements. The contents of this very remarkable library, the fruit of unstinted labor and expenditure on the part of Mr. Clements, and already one of the world's foremost collections of Americana, are partially described by him in a choice volume brought out on occasion of the dedication. A trait especially notable in the formation of the library is the extent to which the value of the books for history has been kept in regard; another, the acquisition of Lord Shelburne's papers.

The library of the late Henry Vignaud has been purchased jointly by the Library of the University of Michigan and by Mr. William L. Clements for the Clements Library of Americana. It consists of approximately 17,000 volumes and 40,000 pamphlets, relating chiefly to cartography, American ethnology, voyages of discovery and exploration, especially of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Spanish history, theology, philosophy, and law. The most remarkable part of the collection is a group of some 250 atlases which appeared before 1800, Mr. Vignaud's chief interest being in the development of knowledge of the earth's surface in the century preceding Columbus and in the contributions of the latter to that knowledge. The Americana will be placed in the Clements Library, the more general works in the library of the university.

The Detroit Historical Society has commenced the publication of a sixteen-page periodical, the *Detroit Historical Monthly*. It is planned to issue ten numbers a year, with title-page and index, each number to contain, besides items of current local interest, some original material of value to students of American history in other parts of the country. Historical societies, libraries, and individuals who may be interested in the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*, published by the Detroit Public

Library and distributed freely as part of its service, and who wish to obtain this larger publication also, are invited to become members of the society. A copy of the first (March) number, which contains a brief outline of the society's organization and history, will be mailed from the Burton Historical Collection upon request. The documents in the March and April numbers are chiefly concerned with the Ohio Company; there is also a paper, by Professor W. H. Siebert, on the Underground Railroad in Michigan. Vol. I., no. 9, of the *Leaflet* is devoted to Father Gabriel Richard, his educational programme, his legislative service, and the issues of his press. Noteworthy among recent accessions to the Burton Historical Collection is a collection of mercantile correspondence in French (estimated at over 18,000 items) chiefly of Philadelphia interest, covering approximately the years 1750-1830. The transactions recorded involve cargoes of dry-goods, coffee, and spices, to and from the West Indies and Europe. Dutilh and Wacksmith is the firm principally concerned. The notarial records of the French consulate at Norfolk, Virginia, 1784-1866, form another interesting group. They comprise many documents useful for vital records, wills, inventories, business transactions, certificates of residence, and are fairly complete to 1831. Chase family letters, 1836-1854, and over 300 items additional to the papers of Marshall W. Chapin, colonel of the 23d Michigan Infantry in the Civil War, contribute toward the series of papers of local families.

The Wisconsin Historical Society has in press, in the *Wisconsin Domesday Book* series, a volume of *Town Studies* dealing with twenty-three selected towns representing southern counties, and presenting in each case a concise history with especial emphasis on agricultural progress, all the data being drawn from records. Among the towns is New Glarus, the original Swiss settlement, begun in 1845. Plats of the twenty-three towns are presented, giving names of the landowners in 1860 and data of an agricultural and economic character from the censuses of 1850, 1860, and 1870.

The March number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains an essay by William E. Leonard, "Wisconsin" (characterized by the editor as "a poet's vision of Wisconsin, historical and actual"); the second of Dr. Joseph Schafer's articles on the Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin; a paper by Hosea W. Rood on the Grand Army of the Republic and the Wisconsin Department (to be continued); an historical sketch of Empire, a Wisconsin Town, by W. A. Titus; and Micajah Terrell Williams: a Sketch, by Samuel M. Williams. In the section of Documents are some letters (1847-1877) of Jakob and Ulrich Bühler, Swiss immigrants to Wisconsin, and the concluding installment of Frederick J. Starin's Diary of a Journey to Wisconsin in 1840.

*A History of Langlade County, Wisconsin*, by Robert M. Dessureau, has been published in Antigo, Wisconsin, by Berner Brothers.

The late Senator Knute Nelson, shortly before his death, presented to the Minnesota Historical Society some part of his political papers, and the society is endeavoring to gather about this nucleus a comprehensive collection of Nelson papers. Among the other accessions of manuscripts are large additions to the papers of the late Maria Sanford, and (as a loan) two diaries of Lewis Harrington, relating to pioneer conditions in 1855 and 1856.

The *Minnesota History Bulletin* announces that "two double numbers of the *Bulletin*, for February-May and August-November, 1922, which will complete volume IV., are to be published as soon as possible". Meanwhile numbers 1 and 2 of volume V. (February and May, 1923), together with an extra number for March, containing the twenty-second biennial report of the Minnesota Historical Society (1921-1922), have appeared. The February number, which is devoted to the fur trade, contains two articles on the subject, one, by Wayne E. Stevens, on the Fur Trade in Minnesota during the British Régime, the other, by Solon J. Buck, entitled the Story of the Grand Portage. There is also a Description of Northern Minnesota by a Fur Trader (George H. Monk, jr.) in 1807. The May number has an article by Elmer E. Adams on the campaign for Congress in 1882 between the late Senator Knute Nelson and Charles F. Kindred, and an account of the annual meeting of the society in January, 1923.

The State Historical Society of Iowa now has in press two volumes on *The United States Food Administration in Iowa*, by Ivan L. Pollock. This work will constitute a part of the *Iowa Chronicles of the World War* and will soon be followed by another volume of the series on *The Sale of War Bonds in Iowa*, by Nathaniel R. Whitney.

The principal article in the July (1922) number of the *Annals of Iowa* is one entitled a Young Soldier's Career, being the Civil War experiences of Captain E. D. Hadley, a New Hampshire soldier, afterward a resident of Iowa. This number contains also a report by Colonel S. A. Moore, Jan. 1, 1865, of the Hostile Raid into Davis County, Iowa, the preceding October.

The April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* has for its principal content a monograph by Alan C. Rockwood, a History of the Military Department of the State University of Iowa. The March number of the *Palimpsest* contains sketches, by Bertha A. Reuter, Jacob Van Ek, and J. E. Briggs, of James Wilson, secretary of agriculture under McKinley and Roosevelt. The April number includes a brief history of the war-ship *Iowa* (1896-1923). In the May number appears a brief account, by J. A. Swisher, of the agitation for the removal of the national capital.

The University of Iowa Extension *Bulletin* devotes some recent numbers to a series of Aids for History Teachers. No. 85 (February 1)



contains a paper by Louis Pelzer on Geographic Influences in the Franco-British Contest for North America, and one by Clara M. Daley entitled Putting History on the Map. No. 86 contains a discussion by Walther I. Brandt of the problem of the High School Library in History.

Articles in the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* are: New Light on Pattie and the Southwestern Fur Trade, by Joseph J. Hill; the second installment of the Memoirs of Major George B. Erath, edited by Lucy A. Erath; and a continuation of the Bryan-Hayes Correspondence.

The articles in the April number of the *Quarterly Journal of North Dakota* pertain wholly to the pioneer history of North Dakota. They are: the Pioneer Physician in North Dakota, by James Grassick; the North Dakota Bar of the Pioneer Days, by F. W. Ames; Early Politics and Politicians of North Dakota, by G. B. Winship; Tales of the Early Settlers, by J. H. Shepperd; Early Banking in North Dakota, by Samuel Torgerson; the Pioneer Farmer, by J. W. Scott; and Early Religious Activities, by C. H. Phillips.

The October-December number of *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days* contains a brief account, by J. P. Dunlap, of his pioneer experiences in Butler County.

The *Biennial Report* of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado for the period ending with December, 1922, gives interesting information respecting archaeological investigations at Chimney Rock and other prehistoric sites in southwestern Colorado, and concerning large efforts made by the society to collect diaries, letters, and other manuscripts illustrating the pioneer period of the territory and state.

The April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains, besides continuations, a paper by C. H. Hanford on the Orphan Railroad and the Ram's Horn Right of Way, and Memories of White Salmon and its Pioneers, by Albert J. Thompson.

The principal contents of the March number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are: Ewing Young in the Fur Trade of the Far Southwest, 1822-1834, by Joseph J. Hill; Recollections of Benjamin Franklin Bonney, by Fred Lockley; First Newspapers of Southern Oregon and their Editors, by George H. Himes; and excerpts from the Diary of Rev. George Gary (1793-1855), who spent the years 1844-1847 in Oregon in the service of the mission board of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Diary, which will run through several numbers of the *Quarterly*, is edited by Charles H. Carey.

For family remembrance Mrs. Edward H. Clark of New York has privately printed in handsome pamphlets a small group of *California Letters of William Gill* written in 1850 to his wife in Kentucky, and a group of biographical sketches entitled *Some Cousins in the Great War*.

The American Geographical Society has brought out volume I. of *Bering's Voyages: an Account of the Efforts of the Russians to determine the Relations of Asia and America*, in two volumes, by Professor Frank A. Golder. Volume I. contains the log-books and official reports of the first and second expeditions (1725-1730, 1733-1742), translated, with a chart of the second voyage, by Ellsworth P. Bertholf.

The first *Report of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii*, covering the period ending Dec. 31, 1922, describes interesting work in the accumulation of material for the history of the territory, the preparation of a revised school history, the progress made in respect to historical landmarks, and the collection of materials for a history of Hawaii's part in the World War.

## CANADA

The first annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association was held at Ottawa on May 24 and 25. Among the papers and addresses delivered were an appreciation of Francis Parkman, by Professor Basil Williams of McGill University, Montreal, of timely interest because of the forthcoming celebration of the centenary of Parkman's birth; an account of the historical origins of the Labrador boundary dispute between Canada and Newfoundland, by Dr. James White of Ottawa; a paper on the Spanish discovery of British Columbia, by Judge Howay of that province; and a scholarly study of political history—"La Fontaine, Rolph, et Papineau (Épisodes de 1838 et de 1843)"—by M. B. de La Bruère of Montreal. The subject to which most discussion was given in the business sessions was a plan for the preparation, in co-operation with the Public Archives of Canada and other organizations, of a series of popular skeleton lectures on Canadian history, to be accompanied by illustrative material, especially lantern slides prepared from authentic pictorial and map sources. As a suggestion of the lines which might be followed, the presidential address, by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, on the North West Fur Company, was cast in such a form, and proved a unique and most interesting experiment in the combination of extracts from original narratives with wall maps, lantern slides, moving pictures, and phonograph records. The officers of the association were re-elected for the coming year: president, L. J. Burpee, Ottawa; vice-president, W. D. Lighthall, Montreal; secretary-treasurer, C. M. Barbeau, Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa; editor, J. F. Kenney, Ottawa; members of council: these, and A. G. Doughty, Ottawa; P. G. Roy, Quebec; G. M. Wrong, Toronto; C. Martin, Winnipeg; A. MacMechan, Halifax; F. W. Howay, New Westminster.

The *Canadian Historical Review* for December has an article by Professor Basil Williams, of McGill University, on a New Tendency in English Historical Study, describing the increased attention paid to the history of British foreign policy; a paper on Canadian Refugees in the

American Revolution, by Dr. Carl Wittke of the Ohio State University, and one on the Influence of the Crown in the Evolution of Responsible Government, by K. L. P. Martin of New College, Oxford; also an acute examination, by Sir Charles Lucas, of Sir Robert Borden's published views on the constitutional development of Canada. Some tables respecting the fur trade of 1767, from the Colonial Office Papers, are also printed.

In the *Tenth Annual Report* of the Waterloo Historical Society the item of most interest is a paper by Dr. H. M. Bowman on the Mennonite Settlements in Pennsylvania and Waterloo, with especial reference to the Bowman (Baumann) family.

#### AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

Señor José M. Ponce de Leon, of Chihuahua, puts forth in a small pamphlet of 81 pages a *Resumen de la Historia Política de Chihuahua*, of which the last half is a chronology of the disturbing events of 1910-1919; he promises to issue before long a volume on the history of his state.

An interesting side-light on Central American history is furnished by A. Brindeau in *Histoire de la Mission Morave à la Côte des Mosquitos, Nicaragua, de 1849 à 1921* (Strasbourg, Hiller, 1922, pp. 141).

Señor Vicente Pardo Suárez, in *La Elección Presidencial en Cuba* (Havana, Rambla, 1923, pp. 299), gives some account of the four presidential elections which have thus far taken place in the republic, and argues warmly for provisions against re-election, for a completer separation of powers, and for other constitutional changes.

In *La Enmienda Platt, Estudio de su Alcance é Interpretación y Doctrina sobre su Aplicación* (Havana, *El Siglo XX.*, 1922, pp. 152) L. Machado y Ortega gives an historical survey of Cuban affairs as the basis of his arguments that the United States has exceeded its rights in intervening in internal affairs in Cuba.

In compliment to the Brazilian centennial celebration of last September, the Venezuelan government has printed a *Resumen Histórico de la Última Dictadura del Libertador Simón Bolívar* (Rio de Janeiro, *O Norte*, pp. 308), prepared nearly a hundred years ago, in the liberator's lifetime, by a Pernambucan associated with his campaigns, General José Ignacio de Abreu y Lima (1796-1869), which the Venezuelan minister to Brazil, Señor Diego Carbonell, found in the Archaeological and Geographical Institute of Pernambuco and of which he has edited carefully the Spanish text, prefacing Portuguese and Spanish discourses concerning the author. The memoir was written in order to be sent to Abbé de Pradt for the public defense of Bolívar's career. Respecting Santander the tone is hostile. R. Blanco-Fombona has edited a collection of *Cartas de Bolívar, 1825-26-27* (Editorial America, 1922, pp. vi, 510).

A book of great importance for the early history of the Spaniards in Peru, especially as regards missionary work, the labors of the Franciscans, and the organization of the Church, and a book which should have been noted earlier in these pages, is Father R. Levillier's *Organización de la Iglesia y Ordenes Religiosas en el Virreinato del Perú en el Siglo XVI.: Documentos del Archivo de Indias* (Madrid, Ribadeneira, 1919, 2 vols., pp. cxii, 714, 352), presenting a great wealth of documentary illustration.

The Chilean minister of foreign relations, Señor Ernesto Barros Jarpa, has collected a large amount of original material on the present negotiations over the Pacific problem between Peru and Chile in *Hacia la Solución: Apuntaciones al Margen de la Negociación Chileno-Peruana de 1921* (Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1922, pp. 363).

Under the title *L'Argentine devant l'Histoire* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. 240) José P. Otero has issued the first volume of a new history of Argentina, which deals with events down to the establishment of the unitary republic.

Father Pablo Pastells and Father Bayle, S. J., have commemorated the fourth centenary of the death of Magellan by a large volume entitled *El Descubrimiento del Estrecho de Magallanes* (Madrid, Ribadeneira, pp. 896 and pl. 24), containing a detailed narrative of Magellan's discoveries in that quarter and of the subsequent expeditions thither in the sixteenth century, together with nearly 600 pages of documents hitherto unpublished.

New light on Drake's circumnavigation of the globe has come from an unexpected quarter. The first part of Juan de Castellanos's *Elegías de Varones Ilustres de Indias* was published in Madrid in 1589, the second and third not until 1850, and from the third part 220 leaves had been excised. These leaves, lately traced through the hands of Sir Thomas Phillipps, are found to contain a canto entitled *Discurso de el Capitán Francisco Draque*, and have been printed under that title, with notes and illustrative material (Madrid, Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan). They supply much additional contemporary detail.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Ricard, *Le Problème de la Découverte du Brésil* (Bulletin Hispanique, January); Col. G. E. Boyle, *The 18th, or Royal Irish, Regiment in North America, 1767-1775* (Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research, April); J. C. Fitzpatrick, *The Bands of the Continental Army* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, April); Charles Moore, *Washington in the House of Burgesses* (*ibid.*, March); *id.*, *Washington's Family Life at Mount Vernon* (*ibid.*, May); T. T. Belote, *War Medals of the United States, issued by Individual States* (*ibid.*); Dumas Malone, *The First Years of Thomas Cooper in America* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); Maj.-Gen. John A. Lejeune, *A Brief History of the Marine Corps* (Marine

Corps Gazette, March); Maj. E. N. McClellan, *Marine Corps History, 1807-1812* (*ibid.*); Capt. S. R. Carswell, *Interesting Old Records* [Gen. James Wilkinson's order-book, 1797-1808] (*Infantry Journal*, April); A. H. Cole, *A Neglected Chapter in the History of Combinations: the American Wool Manufacture* (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May); Carl Holliday, *The Reconstruction: its Actual Workings* (*Methodist Quarterly Review*, April); G. Bradford, *Damaged Souls*, V., Benjamin F. Butler (*Atlantic Monthly*, April); Tyler Dennett, *Early American Policy in Korea, 1883-1887* (*Political Science Quarterly*, March); W. G. Burgin, *The Political Theory of Theodore Roosevelt* (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, April); R. L. Buell, *The Development of Anti-Japanese Agitation in the United States*, II. (*Political Science Quarterly*, March); W. E. Dodd, *Wilsonism* (*ibid.*); C. H. Rowell, *Why the Middle West went Radical* (*World's Work*, June); Capt. S. H. Sherrill, *The Experiences of the First American Troop of Cavalry to get into Action in the World War* (*Cavalry Journal*, April); Isaiah Bowman, *An American Boundary Dispute, Texas-Oklahoma* (*Geographical Review*, April); Rev. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., *Santa Barbara Mission* (*Grizzly Bear*, May); Camille Roy, *Le Troisième Centenaire de Mgr. de Laval* (*Le Canada Français*, May); Ivanhoë Caron, *Mgr. de Laval et la Colonisation de la Nouvelle-France* (*ibid.*); Ada Macleod, *Travels in Prince Edward's Island in 1820* (*Dalhousie Review*, April); R. C. Dexter, *French Canadian Patriotism* (*American Journal of Sociology*, May); G. Silva Herrera, *The Dissolution of Greater Colombia* (*Inter-America*, English, April).



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